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THE CRISIS

A RECORD OF THE DARKER RACES

PUBLISHED MONTHLY AND COPYRIGHTED BY THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE, AT 70 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK CITY. CONDUCTED BY W. E. BURGHARDT DU BOIS; JESSIE REDMON FAUSET, LITERARY EDITOR; AUGUSTUS GRANVILLE DILL, BUSINESS MANAGER.

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THE CRISIS

Vol. 22. No. 6 OCTOBER, 1921 Whole No. 132

Opinion of W. E. B. Du Bois

SOCIALISM AND THE NEGRO

WE have an interesting letter from John H. Owens of Washington, which we would like to publish in full but can only note certain extracts. Mr. Owens says, in answer to the editorial in the July CRISIS on "The Negro and Radical Thought": "Is there not just the bare possibility that some of the issues which you consider subordinate to your central idea (of the emancipation of the Negro) might possess the neucleus of a tangible and definite solution?"

There is more than a bare possibility, and the Negro must study proposals and reforms with great care to see if they do not carry with them some help in the solution of his problem. But he must not assume that because a proposed solution settles many important human problems, for this reason it is necessarily going to settle his.

Mr. Owens continues: "The Negro group is almost a pure proletarian group,—this fact admits of no denial. Above 90 per cent. of the Negroes are unskilled, untrained workers, and unorganized. Thus it would seem that the race as a whole has less reason to be suspicious of any movement of a proletarian nature than of some scheme which offers a questionable solution for the ills of the talented minority."

The Negro has little reason to be suspicious of a proletarian movement if that movement is for the good of the proletariat; but it does not follow that all movements proposed by the proletariat themselves are for their own good. The workers of the world are, through no fault of their own, ignorant, inexperienced men. It is not for a moment to be assumed that movements into which they are drawn or which they themselves initiate are necessarily the best for them. If, however, the Negro sees a movement for the proletariat which, after careful thought and experience, he is convinced is for the good of the working class, then as a worker he is bound to give every aid to such a movement.

"Universal political enfranchisement would offer no positive relief. This the Northern Negro already enjoys; yet he suffers under the burden of social, political, and economic injustices. His condition is little more to be envied than that of his Southern brother."

The vote is not a panacea. It is a means to an end. The condition of the Negro in the North because of his political power is a great deal better than the condition of the Negro in the South. He is, of course, hindered in the North by greater competition for work, while in the South certain fields are open to him. The voter, white and black, has not yet learned to control industry through his vote, but he is learning, and only through the use of the ballot is real reform in industry and industrial relations coming.

"Does not the editor think that State Socialism, Communism, or even the dread dictatorship of the proletariat, offers a better solution to the problems of the proletariat than any scheme suggested by the exploiting classes,—those who profit by the present system? And since the Ne-

gro is over 90 per cent. proletarian, is it not almost logical to assume that this would also offer a better solution to this problem than anything heretofore proposed?"

I do decidedly think that many proposals made by Socialists and Communists and even by the present rulers of Russia would improve the world if they could be adopted; but I do not believe that such adoption can successfully come through war or force or murder, and I do not believe that the sudden attempt to impose a new industrial system and new ideas of industrial life can be successful without the long training of human beings. I believe that Socialism must be evolutionary, not in the sense that it must take 50,000 years, but in the sense that it does mean hard work for many generations. Beginnings can and should be made this minute or tomorrow or next year. It is precisely because of our present ignorance and our widespread assumptions as to profit and business that we cannot immediately change the world. It is true that those who today are sucking the industrial life blood of the nations get their chance to keep on by simply asserting that no better way is offered and present methods suit present human nature. We who suffer and believe in reform must not think that we can answer such persons successfully simply by saying that present industrial society is *not* in accordance with human nature. It *is* in accordance with human nature today, but human nature can and must and will be changed.

"We are both of the opinion that the present method of control and distribution of wealth is desperately wrong. We are *en rapport* on the conclusion that a form of social control is inevitable. We hold this particular truth to be self-evident,—that a change must come about. But how? I think that we both may be safe in assuming that any initiative in bringing about a better distribution of wealth must be taken by those who benefit least by the present system."

The change in industrial organization must come from those who think and believe. We cannot assume that necessarily redemption is coming from those who suffer. It may come from those who enjoy the fruit of suffering, but who come to see that such enjoyment is wrong. The point that we must hold clearly is that a proposal for reform is not necessarily good and feasible simply because it comes from a laboring man, and it is not wrong and unjustifiable simply because it comes from a millionaire. It must be judged by itself and not by its source.

"You ask the question: 'How far can the colored people of the world, and the Negroes of the United States in particular, trust the working classes?' This is a good question, and easier asked than answered. But I would like to ask further: How far can the Negroes and other dark peoples trust the exploiting Nationalists and Imperialists? Is it the English working classes that are exploiting India, sucking the very life-blood from a starving population and grinding the natives down into the desert dust in order to support English 'gentlemen' in idleness and luxury? Are the English, French and Belgian working classes raping Africa, taking ill-gotten gains from a trusting population? Are the working classes of America attempting to fasten the yoke of subjugation upon the neck of Santo Domingo, and stifle liberty and freedom of speech and press in Haiti? If we have cause to distrust the working classes, by what precept of example should we put faith in the specious promises of the masters?"

I think these questions touch the center of much modern effort and reform. I maintain that English working classes *are* exploiting India; that the English, French and Belgian laborers *are* raping Africa; that the

working classes of America *are* subjugating Santo Domingo and Haiti. They may not be as conscious of all they are doing as their more educated masters, called Nationalists and Imperialists, but they are consciously submitting themselves to the leadership of these men; they are voluntarily refusing to know; they are systematically refusing to listen; they are blindly voting armies and navies and hidden diplomacy, regardless of the result, and while the individual white employee in Europe and America is less to be condemned than the individual capitalist for the way in which the darker nations have been treated, he can not escape his responsibility. He is co-worker in the miserable modern subjugation of over half the world.

HAITI

OUR chance has come! It is not the greatest and best chance, but it is a chance. A Senate committee, composed of McCormick of Illinois, Knox of Pennsylvania, King of Utah, Poindexter of Washington, and Odie of Nevada, is going to investigate conditions in Haiti. They asked the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and other organizations to present their charges. We are going to do so.

Meantime, let every constituent of these Senators write them and urge them to withdraw the United States army from Haiti and to treat black republics in the way in which white republics want to be treated. Do not delay! Write now, and keep writing. Once in a while, telegraph.

TULSA

DO NOT forget Tulsa! The same little herring has been drawn across the path there that saw the light at Atlanta and similar places. *First*, great moral indignation was announced on the part of the white people at the abuse of the Negroes. *Then*, they were going to take care of the Negroes who had suffered. In Tulsa, they were actually going to rebuild the Negro section. When, in this way, the nation was lulled to rest, and could spend its surplus funds in Pueblo and the Far East, then white Tulsa proposed that the Negroes should sell this valuable land to them at a nominal cost and occupy huts in the muddy and unlighted outskirts. Black Tulsa did not see it this way. Black Tulsa fights! It fights mobs with firearms and it fights economic oppression with cooperation. It has appealed to the colored people of the United States for funds. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People will be glad to act as its agent.

Nearly every member of the local committee is known to the Editor of THE CRISIS and is worthy of confidence and support. This local committee proposes to restore Negro real estate, rebuild stores and homes, and go right back to work in the same peaceful pursuits as before the riot. It also proposes to sue the city for losses in the riot. Strength to their arms!

THE YOUNG IDEA

WE often wonder how the peculiar prejudice against Negroes arises in the United States. In some respects the answer is not far to seek. The thing is taught to children. Take, for instance, "A Short Course in American Civics," by A. G. Fradenburgh, Ph.D., Professor of History and Politics, Adelphi College, Brooklyn. This popular work is published by Hinds, Hayden and Eldredge, and is widely used. On the subject of voting, page 102, we are told that the constitutions of Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana have been amended. The book then proceeds: "The educational requirements of these constitutions

have been vigorously attacked on the ground that they were designed to prevent the Negroes from voting. It may be said, however, that in no Southern State is a Negro legally prevented from voting, because he is a Negro. The Constitution of the United States provides that suffrage shall not be denied 'on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude,' and the Southern States have not attempted to disqualify Negroes as such. Moreover, in no Southern State is a Negro disqualified, unless for crime or other good reason, if he can show ability to use the English language intelligently and possesses three hundred dollars' worth of property."

The editor was so astonished when he read this information, which is being given to children throughout the United States, that he wrote a feeling letter to the publishers and to the author. He is glad to publish the following reply from Mr. Fradenburgh:

"I have no doubt that the Negro is actually disfranchised p r a c tically throughout the South. Legally he is not disfranchised because he is a Negro, but actually the facts are about as you stated. The 'Short Course in American Civics' is a revision of an older work, and I neglected to revise that part of it. I shall see that it reads differently in future editions. Having recently returned from a visit to the South, I know you are substantially correct. I shall be glad to receive any material you send and will give it every consideration.

"My father was an Abolitionist and fought for the cause, and I should never willingly misrepresent the Negro nor condone his oppression.

"If you will read Bogart's 'Economic History of the United States', used as a text book in many schools and colleges, you will find some other matters which may astonish you, but perhaps you have already seen it."

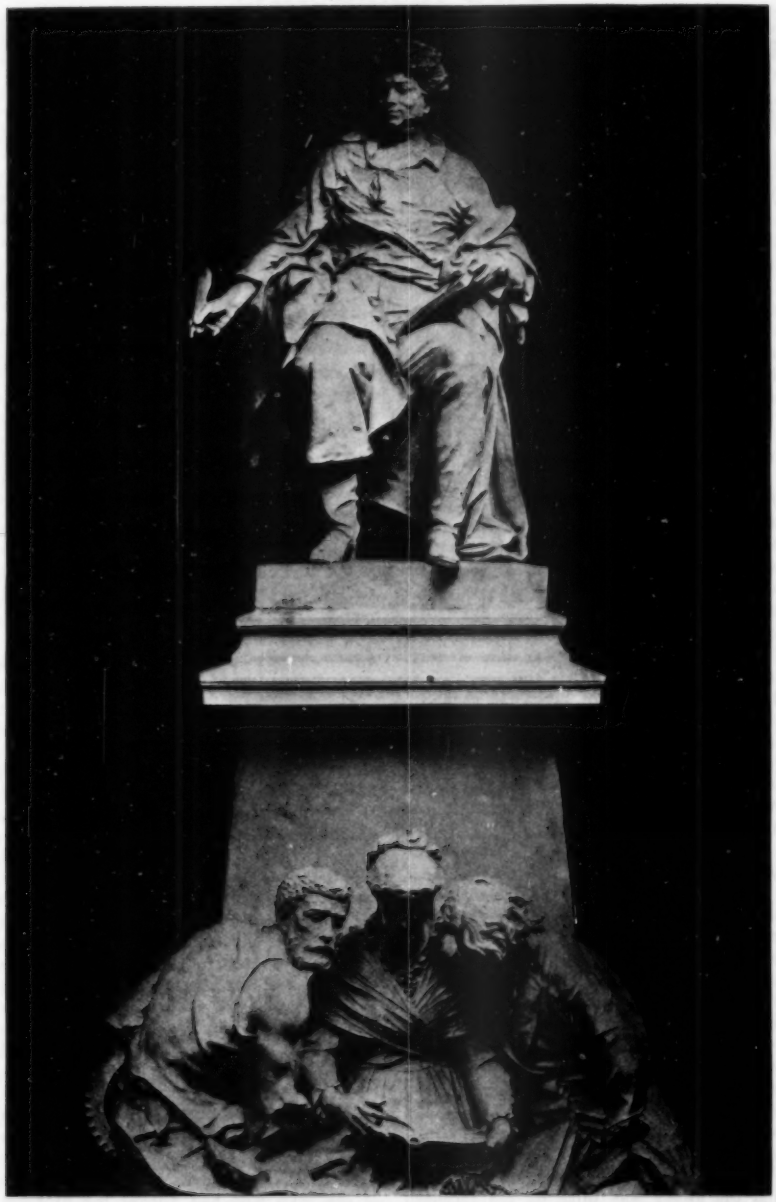
THE SINGLE TAX

AMONG Negro radicals comparatively little has been said of the Single Tax, and we take it that few of our colored readers know much of Henry George's "Progress and Poverty" and its aftermath. There are, however, many signs that the economic thought of the world is turning increasingly toward this rather awkwardly named method of righting economic wrong. The basic thought which Henry George and his followers laid for the world was that the sum of economic villanies is monopoly and that monopoly always in the last analysis rests on the land and the produce of land; that so long as it is possible and legal to own land, to own mines, to own oil wells, to own "rights of way," it will be possible to lay upon the public an enormous tax which labor must pay and which will in the end defeat democracy.

None can doubt but that this is true. They may doubt if the single and simple expedient of a tax on land values will remedy the growing difficulty, but even this is arguable. At any rate, monopoly of land and its products is the most sinister thing that faces modern industrial progress, the rise of laboring classes, and the emancipation of the Darker World.

ALEXANDRE DUMAS

NOTABLE among the world's great writers is Alexandre Dumas. He was born of French and Negro blood, July 24, 1802, in Villers-Cotterets, France. At the age of 27 he had a historical play, "Henri III," produced at the Theâtre Français. When he was 44 years old, he contracted to furnish two newspapers with manuscript equal to 60 volumes. Among his best known books are "The Three Musketeers," which has been made into a photoplay; "Monte Cristo" and "La Reine Margot." He lived to be 68 years of age.



THE STATUE ERECTED IN PARIS, FRANCE, TO THE MEMORY OF ALEXANDRE DUMAS.

TWO AMERICANS

FLORENCE LEWIS BENTLEY

I.

A WHITE soldier and a black soldier from Huxton, Ga., meet in France. Both are injured. The black soldier, however, gives aid to his white comrade, and they reach the hospital. The black soldier, who has become a favorite patient of the doctor, tells him of the lynching of his brother Joe.

"I saw a crowd turn a corner and pour into the Square. They had Joe. He looked awful. One eye was out, the blood was trickling all around his face from a cut in the head, and one arm hung like it was broken.

II.

"'O MY GOD!' my mother cried. 'They got my boy!' and when she looked through the slats and seen him, she tumbled right down in a faint. Old Miss Canna and the Judge run in and took her in another room, where she couldn't hear or see if she come to. But I stuck to the window, and I saw them take my only brother—that crowd of white people—and lay him out on a table. They stretched out his arms like a cross and nailed down his hands and feet. Then they passed around the table and each one—men and women and children—struck him and stuck him and tore his flesh and spat upon him. I was almost crazy. I tried to rush out to my brother and die with him, but the old Judge, who had come back into the room, had locked the door.

"'Think of your mother, boy,' he said, 'you must be safe for her.' My poor mother!

"When I returned to the window they had stopped the torture and were preparing something else. I soon saw what it was, for a man stepped forward and poured kerosene on the body of my brother and the leader of the mob applied a lighted torch. I must have fainted then because everything grew black, but before I lost consciousness I plainly saw the face of the man who had been the ring leader and who applied the torch to my brother's helpless body—and it was the face of that man I brought in here."

The face of the Negro had become ashen and the sweat was thick on his forehead as he lay with closed eyes after speaking. The doctor wiped the wet face and moistened the purple lips. In a few minutes the dying man resumed:

"The next night the Judge drove me and my mother to the next town and we took train for the North. My mother didn't live long. Her heart was broken. And I was full of hate. I hated all white men, and I made up my mind if I ever met that man who led that mob to murder and to burn my brother, I'd make him suffer just what Joe suffered. I knew I would meet him. The world wasn't big enough to keep us apart. Then the war came and I was drafted. I was glad to get away from America, and I didn't care if I did get killed in the war. But I made up my mind that I would be such a good soldier that those white men back home would understand just what kind of real men we Negroes are. And I did fight well—did you save my cross, doctor?"

The doctor opened a bundle on the table and showed him the *croix de guerre* which they had found pinned to his torn and stained jacket. A pleased smile passed over the gray face.

"I got that in my first fight," he whispered. "Then one day we passed through this place and went to N—. There we certainly found hell. But I did my share before that shell got me. When I came to, all was so quiet that I thought I was in bed when I opened my eyes. But when I raised up, I saw the deserted field and dead bodies all around. It was then quite dark and I tried to rise and seek shelter somewhere. Then I heard a slight groan and saw that another soldier near me was still living. I went over to him and called but he was still unconscious, so I dragged him a little way under a hedge and lay down beside him to wait for daylight. That's the way the stretcher-bearer must have missed us—we were behind the hedge. I must have slept or become unconscious, because the first thing I knew I opened my eyes and saw sunlight. I was full of pain and my head hurt something fierce, but I knew I had to get myself and my comrade to a safer place. I looked over and saw him there, face downward. I turned him over to the light and I saw his face—the face of the man who had burned my brother! I remember I burst out laughing. I just laughed and laughed! I just couldn't stop.

He must have heard me, for he stirred and opened his eyes and stared at me.

"'Who are you?' he whispered. 'Give me some water.' I just laughed and laughed! 'Water,' he says, kind of weak like. 'Some water, for pity's sake.'

"'Pity,' sez I, 'what you know about pity? Did you pity Joe when you burned him in Huxton? I'm Joe's brother!'

"He stared at me a minute, and then just begin to whimper like a little baby. 'Now you are going to suffer some what you made Joe suffer,' sez I. And I pulled him out from under the shade of the hedge into the sunlight. 'Now you'll burn and burn, and no water for you. And when you get to hell, remember Joe's brother sent you there.'

"And then I staggered up and left him. I heard him cry out once, but I just laughed and went on. I laughed all the way up the road, just staggering along from side to side and laughing fit to split, till I suddenly turned a bend in the road and come plumb face to face with—Joe. No, doctor, I'm not out of my head, my pulse is all right. *I was facing Joe.* There he stood as I last saw him. The blood all streaming down all around his head, like it crowned him, and his hands and feet showed where they had nailed him that day.

"'Joe!' I cried, and I stopped laughing. He looked at me so sad like, and he raised one of them scarred hands and pointed back down the road I had come.

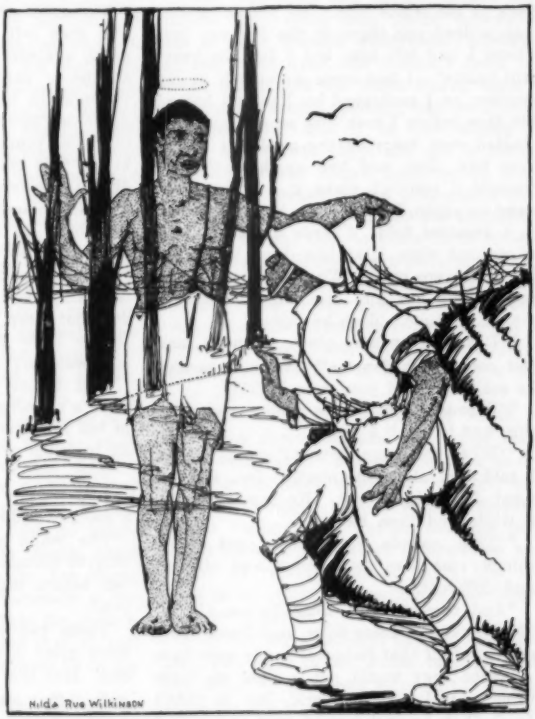
"'Go back and save your brother,' he said.

"'He is not my brother,' I cried. 'You are my brother.' And I tried to laugh again but I couldn't.

"'All men are your brothers,' he said. 'Go back, go back.'

"I tried to answer, but the first thing I knew I fell flat on the ground and couldn't say a word. I lay flat on my face in that road in front of Joe. I knew he was still talking to me, though I could not make out the very words—the sense of it I felt. I'll try to tell you."

And with superhuman effort he raised himself on an arm and laid his black hand upon the doctor's white wrist.



"I was facing Joe."

Slowly, stammeringly, but most earnestly he continued:

"He made me know that this war—this war which I was fightin' in—has come to wipe away hate. That any one act of hate—like what I was doin'—only made the war longer. That all men *are* brothers, black and white, yellow and brown. That when hate was cleaned away, everybody would know this and act like brothers. That if I killed in hatred, I wasn't a true soldier, but a deserter—giving aid to the enemy and

making things harder for all my comrades. And he said that if I did what I was doing, I was killing him again, just as the white mob did.

"Then I hollered out, 'O, no, Joe, not that—not that—I'll go back, I'll go back!' and I stretched out my arms to clasp him, but he was gone.

"Then I struggled to my feet and went back to the white man. He looked like he was a dead one there in the hot sun just where I had left him, but I felt his heart still beatin'. I had some water left in my canteen, so I moistened his lips and bathed his face before I took him on my back and started once more on the road. It was a long trip, Doc, and two or three times I thought I couldn't make it. When night came on again, I found some hay in a wagon in a deserted field. I made a bed for each of us, and when I lay him down I see that his eyes were open. When the moon came up I could see him still there, watching me all the time. Then he said:

"'I was in another place, wasn't I, and you came back for me?' When I nodded he sez, 'Why did you come back?'

"'Because I am a true soldier and want this war to end!' I sez.

"'What you mean by that?' sez he. Then I told him all about meetin' Joe, and all what Joe said to me. He lay quiet for a while and then he sez:

"'That sounds very queer, but many things over here seem queer and strange and different.'

"And then after a while he sez slowly, 'I'm thinkin' if those folks back home could see this Hell that hate has made over here—maybe they would get a light on some things. If I ever get back'—but he didn't finish that, he just turned over and soon I knew that he had fell asleep. I got a little sleep, too, and so in the morning we both felt some stronger. I strapped him on before we started, so that he wouldn't slip off if I grew too weak to hold him on.

"The day was a scorcher, though, and what with the heat and more loss of blood, it was real fierce. Two or three times I fell and we lay until I could go again; but I knew I just had to do that job, and when at last I saw the light of that farm-house I knew that God meant that I should do it. That's all, Doc."

The moonlight had long since faded away. The open loft window looked like a black patch against the barn wall. Outside, the darkness obliterated the village, and through the open door the chill air of approaching dawn penetrated the *quasi* hospital. The young doctor with gentle hands—hands that trembled in spite of himself—drew the covers close around the dying soldier and placed him in a more comfortable position. He closed the door, snuffed his candle and settled down again at the bedside of the patient. He felt that he should be taking the little rest which was now his due, but sleep was far from his thoughts, for he knew that the passing of a brave soul was very near.

Just before morning the Negro started from a seeming stupor. He sat straight up in bed and stretching out his arms as if to an invisible presence, he cried:

"Joe—Joe—I did it—I overcame the enemy—I—I." Then the doctor caught in his arms a gallant soldier whose fight was now over.

The white soldier during the day was able to dictate a letter to his home folks, but before night, he too, had passed beyond.

These two men from Huxton, Georgia, were given a soldier's burial on the same day. Into the same wide grave were their rude coffins lowered and one American flag marks their place of rest. Flowers are planted there by the warm-hearted French people, and on fair days the little French children love to play softly around the grave of "Two Americans."

THOMAS JESSE JONES

W. E. B. DuBois

THOMAS JESSE JONES was born in Wales, in 1873, and came to America when he was 11 years old. He was educated in Virginia, Ohio, and New York, and received the degree of Doctor of Philosophy from Columbia in 1899. He has been a social settlement worker, a teacher in Hampton Institute, a statistician in the

United States Census Bureau, and at present he is Director of Research of the Phelps-Stokes Fund.

Mr. Jones' career would call for no special notice were it not that it illustrates in a peculiar way the present transition period of the Negro problem.

For many years after the Civil War, the Negro as a matter of fact could not "come into court"—that is, into the organized life and customs of the world of politics and culture—unless he was represented by some white man who vouched for his character and undertook a certain responsibility for his actions. This was, of course, the old Roman idea of the patron and client and out of this it has been the determined effort of the free Negro to work until he could appear in *propria persona*, speaking for himself and being recognized on his individual merits.

At first these pretensions were utterly denied despite the letter of the law. Afterward they were admitted only in case the Negro who was recognized as spokesman should say, on the whole, the things that the white community wanted him to say. It was by this path that the late Booker Washington rose to his pre-eminence and secured so great an influence that he could at times speak independently for the Negro. On the whole, however, he had to say what the white South allowed him to say. Since his death, there has been no Negro spokesman whom the white South could trust to voice its demands for the Negro and the result is that unconsciously it has reverted to the older idea, that the spokesman must be a white man and that all real power over the Negro group must be in the hands of white men.

It was during this time of development that Mr. Thomas Jesse Jones came upon the stage. When he went to Hampton, in 1902, he had an opportunity to meet and become personally acquainted with an unusually large number of colored leaders of all types. His settlement training led him to take advantage of this opportunity and his natural gift for securing the confidence of men increased his opportunities. For a long time he was looked upon as a sympathetic white man who had unusual and minute knowledge of the current inner gossip of the Negro world. It was also felt by most of us that he sympathized with the aspirations of Negroes for leadership and self-determination rather than with the idea of a close-corporation of guiding philanthropists, which was dominant at Hampton.

Then gradually there came a change as Mr. Jones left Hampton, in 1909, and began to cast about for other work. Just what the reason of the change was, is not clear. Perhaps Mr. Jones lost confidence in colored leadership and did not believe that colored men could ever guide themselves out of their present wilderness. Perhaps, on the other hand, the pressure from the white South and the white North, upon a man in Mr. Jones' position, was too strong, and he found that if he was willing to make terms with them and get a chance to work at the Negro problem, he must first of all assent to the proposition that Negroes must be kept from the leadership of their group; that to allow them to lead was ineffective if they were incompetent and dangerous if they were competent, because in the latter case no matter how reasonable their demands from the point of view of a white race, they could not for a moment be admitted in the case of a colored race.

It does not matter greatly by which of the paths above indicated Mr. Jones came to his conclusion. The point is that he did come to the place where he definitely and persistently began to work so as to displace Negro leaders, and gather into his own hands such an amount of information and power as would gradually give him the position of arbiter and patron of the Negro race in America.

I do not for a moment suppose that this plan was clear in Mr. Jones' mind at first, but certainly more and more in the last 12 years he has worked toward it. The proof of this lies in several incidents, which may be here adduced:

(A) *The Y. W. C. A.* About 1917, a grave problem of procedure had come to a head in the National Y. W. C. A.,—and that was the question as to how far the colored local branches of the Y. W. C. A. were to be responsible to the city and state organizations in the South. To put them on the same plane of responsibility as the white organizations meant that they would be ruled by the white South and that they would not be allowed adequate representation on the ruling boards. On the other

hand, if they were made special cases this would mean the building up of a colored organization from top to bottom, as is the case in the Y. M. C. A. The Y. W. C. A. hesitated between these two extremes, regarding the latter alternative as a complete surrender to color caste, and hoping to secure just recognition and representation in the South. The result was that they had a party colored organization, with a colored secretary at National Headquarters who was practically in charge of the city Y. W. C. A.s in the South, and who sent out traveling secretaries to student bodies.

At Louisville, in 1917, for some unknown reason Mr. Jones was brought in as arbiter. He immediately recommended that the colored woman who was at the head of the colored work in the national organization be displaced and that in her stead a white woman be appointed. He gave the impression that he favored in this and in other cases always the appointing of white persons to places of authority and the bringing in of colored persons as their helpers and assistants. His recommendation in this case raised such a cloud of opposition that the advice was not followed and he seemed to acquiesce.

(B) *The investigation of colored schools.* Meantime, Mr. Jones had become an employee of the Phelps-Stokes Fund and a nominal expert in the United States Bureau of Education. The Phelps-Stokes Fund was established by the bequests of two gentle ladies who for years had given to Negro education and who wanted to perpetuate this help. The trustees of the Fund, however, conceived that the best help for the Negro in the South was to secure the greatest amount of co-operation between the races; and beyond this they gradually took the position that co-operation between the races meant the doing of what the white people demanded. They, therefore, established fellowships in white colleges to study the Negro problem but made no attempt to do similar work in colored colleges, and they started Mr. Jones on his investigation with the assumption that there was a great deal of begging for funds for Negro education which was unjustifiable.

Of the general results of Mr. Jones' investigation The CRISIS has already spoken, but one point must here be emphasized, and that is that almost without exception Mr. Jones' report took the stand that Negro education directed by Negroes was a failure and that Negro education to succeed must be directed by white people. In one or two cases he went so far as to take a high hand and order a colored president to resign if he wished his school to receive any favorable report, and in many other cases he caused especial astonishment and chagrin among his numerous colored friends because of the singular way in which he treated their educational work.

(C) *The Y. M. C. A.* The Y. M. C. A. had gone to the extreme position of separating absolutely colored and white work and putting the colored work in the hands of a strong corps of secretaries who had their headquarters with the National Board.

While this arrangement was not ideal because it recognized color caste in Christian work—a contradiction in terms—notwithstanding it did at least give the colored people a voice in their own government and the result was an astonishing and gratifying growth in the colored Y. M. C. A. When the war came and the United States entered, Mr. Jones rather suddenly went into this field and before the colored secretaries realized it, the question of the personnel of colored men who were to be appointed to represent the Y. M. C. A. overseas was being referred to Mr. Jones by the white heads of the Y. M. C. A. He was selecting men, rejecting others, and tendering advice in all directions. His advice was usually followed without reference to the colored secretaries.

When the colored secretaries protested, some form of recognizing their authority was instituted; but in the six months before the Armistice and afterward, Mr. Jones was practically in control of the selection of colored secretaries abroad. He went abroad himself, ostensibly for the Y. M. C. A., but did no especial work. He kept his eye on the colored troops, accompanied Dr. Moton closely on his trip, and was in cable communication with the Y. M. C. A. headquarters, who referred to him questions which ought to have gone to the Colored Department for decision.

(D) *The American Negro in Africa.* One of the great ideals gradually shaping itself in America is that American Negroes have before them the duty of helping to civilize and redeem Africa. This was first

felt among the churches and for more than 50 years a few missionaries, representing colored churches, have been working in Africa. Recently, however, the movement has taken broader shape and it was given its greatest and most interesting impetus by the work of Mr. Max Yergan, in East Africa, in 1916. The work of this young colored man of fine character, college training and unusual ability, has thus been characterized in a previous CRISIS article:

One night in May, 1915, the National Secretary of War Work in the Far East made an appeal for 40 men to go into parts of the world where soldiers were fighting, surrounded with every conceivable danger to life known to man. The reward for service offered them was most likely a body broken with disease and maybe death. However, the tremendous needs made the challenge attractive to redblooded men. Max Yergan, the youngest member of my staff, student secretary from the Southwest, a graduate of Shaw University, only 25 years old, strong, courageous, devout, faithful in caring for every detail of responsibility entrusted to him, heard that call and went out to India. Not a question was raised by our committee regarding his race. The reports of his service to troops and of his splendid addresses at mission stations in India are most encouraging. After some months, at his own request, he went with a number of troops to British East Africa, where he has been serving East Indian troops, West Indian troops, British troops, South African troops, and native troops from many parts of Africa, rendering a service which almost parallels the labors of the Apostle Paul himself. He has suffered the fever, he has been surrounded with every danger known to man in that region. He is now broken in health and is on his way home; but his story will be like that of Livingstone. Last Christmas day he had only palm-trees for Christmas-trees and the sands of the desert for presents, but he told the Christmas story to more than 3,000 men who had never heard of Christmas. He went from hospital to hospital in his little "Ford" machine and from camp to camp in the spirit of the Christ—sometimes near the coast and at others far in the interior, under the shadow of Kilima Njaro, the tallest mountain in Africa, whose summit is covered with eternal snow; many nights he was without shelter, with small quantities of unwholesome food—yet the ring of his letters never showed any sign of dissatisfaction with the discomforts, but joy at the privilege of service. It was not long after his arrival in Africa, before we were cabled to send six more men to join him in his work. To the colleges we went for these men, and the young men of this promising race were willing to consider the claims of this great need.

The work of Mr. Yergan and his colleagues came to the attention of the world. Great Britain and her colonies began to consider this new type of American Negro and entered into negotiations to have Y. M. C. A. work under Mr. Yergan begun in Africa. To American Negroes this seemed to mark an epoch.

Meantime, however, Mr. Jones entered the field. He arranged for a survey of South Africa, financed by the Phelps-Stokes Fund and with the co-operation of various English missionary associations. The English associations got the idea that Mr. Jones represented expert scientific opinion in America and are placing great faith in his decisions. No sooner had Mr. Jones reached South Africa, than preparations for the coming of Mr. Yergan were halted. The English authorities had previously written, up until the end of 1920, assuring the Y. M. C. A. that an invitation to Yergan to come and begin work in South Africa would undoubtedly go forward soon.

Time passed and Mr. Yergan did not go. Finally, in self-defense, Mr. Yergan sent out a letter of explanation to a few friends, one of whom has sent a copy to The CRISIS. This letter says, among other things:

"I feel that I should no longer defer sending to you an explanation of the delay in my going out to the foreign field. You should also be informed with reference to other developments pertaining to association work in Africa. I am taking this opportunity of accomplishing both of these ends. It is not necessary for me to relate here in detail the developments which brought the Foreign Work Department of the International Committee to the point of committing itself to work for the native people of Africa. Let it suffice to say that the committee is definitely decided on this course. With this decision it was necessary to fix on a portion of the continent where work should be begun. In the light of correspondence which had passed between the International Committee and representative persons in South Africa, and because of the well developed student group and the larger centers of native population, it was thought best that I be sent first to South Africa. The replies to cablegrams concerning the possibility of beginning work there and the information which came in other correspondence led us to believe that I should sail early this year, as I had informed you and my friends there. I have many reasons for believing that I should be in South Africa today, doing the work all of you wish to have done, had it not been for that which I relate below.

"As a complete surprise, because it was

so contrary to the other information which we have had, a letter which arrived a few weeks ago expressed doubt about permission to enter the country being granted to me by the Government of South Africa. A cablegram, which came a few days later, stated that permission had been refused. Along with this, however, we were informed of what had largely caused this position on the part of the Government. That was as follows:

"Dr. Thomas Jesse Jones is in Africa, heading an educational commission of American and British Missionary Societies and the Phelps-Stokes Foundation, cooperatively. This Commission, I understand, has the endorsement of the British and Belgian Colonial Offices. In conference with high Government officials (you understand that these are all European) the letter informs us that Dr. Jones expressed himself as doubtful about colored American Association leadership. In view of the fact that there is already a strong prejudice in South Africa against the coming in of colored people from America, and because of their state of mind over newspaper reports on Marcus Garvey, it is easy to see how the added opposition of Thomas Jesse Jones caused the Government to take the position it did. I might add here, that it appears that Dr. Jones is attempting to do in Africa precisely what it is claimed he did in America, namely, to assign all colored people to one of the two so-called schools, and then to say that those of one of those schools cannot undertake to minister to the needs of the race. But his action goes further, for it will tend to prevent any colored man serving in a missionary capacity in Africa. I recently heard one of our newly made Bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church say, 'If we cannot serve in Africa, then where can we serve?'

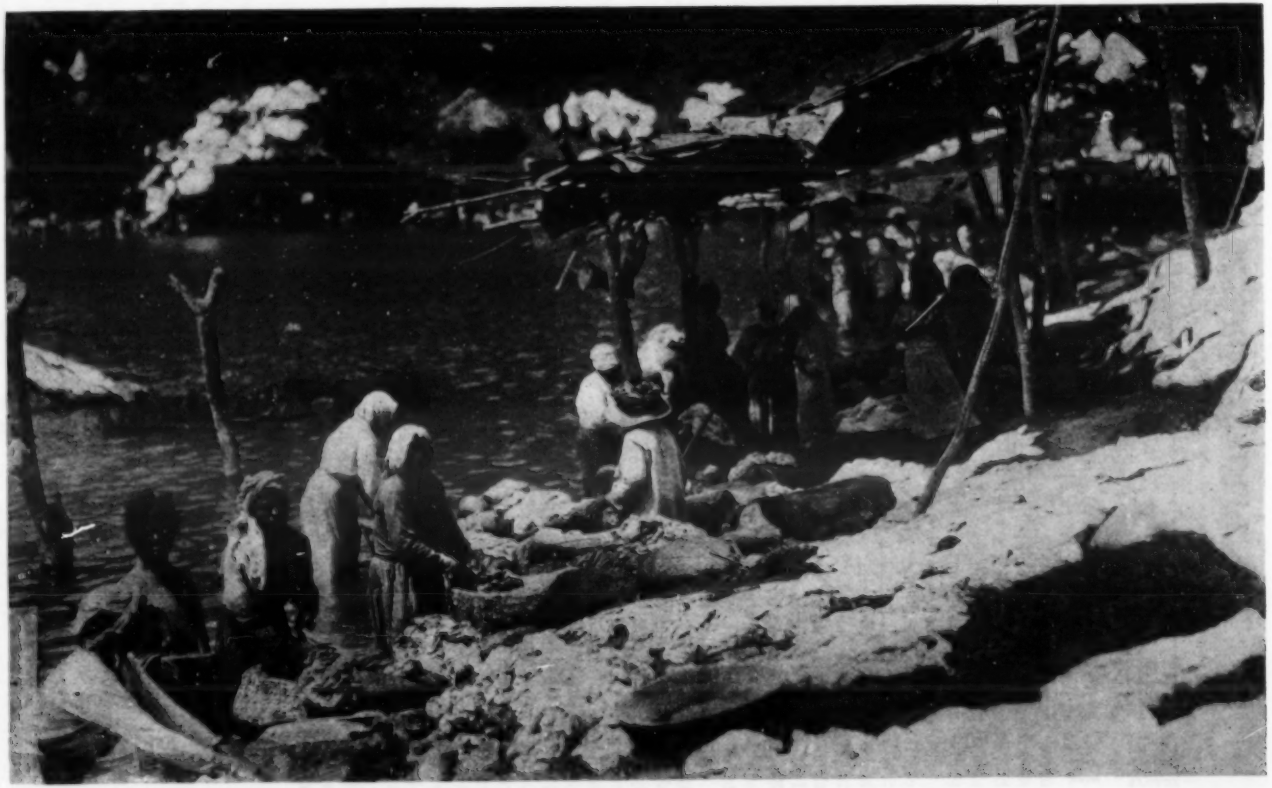
"I want to take this opportunity of letting you know that the Foreign Work Department of the International Committee does not feel disposed to let this matter rest here, but is reopening the whole question.

"In the meantime, I am fully mindful of the necessity of our keeping alive the interest and enthusiasm of our constituency. The hearty support was given because our people wish to see the work of the Association carried to the people of Africa. Therefore, pending the settlement of the South African situation, I am recommending to the committee the plan of having me go out to Liberia, in response to requests which have come to us from that place."

(E) *Other Missionary Work.* Colored missionaries have for a long time had difficulty in Africa. The Baptists write, saying "Our trouble in getting missionaries to all parts of Africa . . . is alarming." The Lott Carey Convention says, "Our workers are evidently not wanted there." Bishop Vernon of the A. M. E. Church has suffered great inconveniences. These difficulties for the most part antedate Mr. Jones' journey, but Mr. Jones' attitude, added to this state of mind among the authorities, has held up some pressing work on the American side. For instance, Mrs. Camphor, wife of a former colored Methodist Bishop of Liberia, made a strong plea eight months ago to the Y. W. C. A. to begin work in Liberia. They considered it and decided to send a secretary this fall. In April, however, the Board suddenly decided that they must await the report of Thomas Jesse Jones on conditions in Liberia before beginning Y. W. C. A. work.

This decision to wait on Mr. Jones seemed moreover to be not simply the voluntary decision of the Y. W. C. A. Board, but it was learned that practically all the missionary boards in America, working in Africa, had been induced to make similar postponements of decision as to their African program; so that today we face the astonishing fact that a large part of the missionary and social uplift work in Africa, so far as America is concerned, rests upon the coming word of Thomas Jesse Jones.

This is the serious situation that confronts colored people. It is not simply the question of one man nor is it a matter of considering the honesty or motives of Mr. Jones. It is a much broader and more important problem that faces us. *First*, are we going to consent to have our interests represented in the important councils of the world—missionary boards, educational committees, in all activities for social uplift—by white men who speak for us, on the theory that we can not or should not speak for ourselves? And if after 60 years of freedom this is necessary, is it to go even further? And *second*, must the selection of the white man who is to represent us be taken entirely out of our own hands? If, as is inevitable, we resent either of these two conclusions, what is the next step which we must take? Simply make it clear to the world that while we have no enmity against Mr. Jones and are not stopping to question his motives or purposes, as American Negroes, and as men, we propose to speak for ourselves and to be represented by spokesmen whom we elect; and whenever in any case this policy is contravened we are going to fight that decision in every civilized way, and to the last ditch.



WASHING IN A POOL IN NICARAGUA. —*International.*

THE LITTLE BOY SPEAKS

A True Story

ELLA RUSH MURRAY

I SAT by the fire in our library. Outside the autumn wind sang songs to me. I drew up my favorite table and the new modelling wax mother gave me, and I had such a splendid time playing! I made elephants, soldiers and sailors, and an aeroplane just like a real one.

I was just wondering why mother didn't come at the time she had promised, when the door opened wide and I saw her. She had on a dress that was pretty, and the hat that I liked; but she looked tearful. I threw my arms around her with kisses and I asked her what caused her such trouble. She came and stood by my table and when she saw my wax figures, her dear eyes with tears were all brimming.

"Oh, mother!" I cried, "don't you like them?" and I pretended to crush them, but she said, "Please don't do that,—they're lovely! I am sad, dear, because of a story, a story that has been told to me and one that will ever be with me. I met a southern man just now while at tea with a neighbor. For an hour I have been listening, while with evident self-satisfaction, he confidently related 'the way they do things' in his country. Our people up here in New York State find interesting thoughts in the Southland, as a country of romance and glamour. So they questioned him eagerly while I sat apart, where I watched the proceedings.

"The talk turned upon artists, and he then and there became silent, as he did when the subject of music, or of European matters, was mentioned, or new books we all had been reading. It seemed as if his whole knowledge of things to be pleasantly dwelt on, lay only within a few subjects, all trifles within his own country. But at the mention of sculpture, his eye rather changed its expression and he said to us:

" 'There's a little nigger down at home,—he's the son of a man who works on our place,—and it really would astonish you to see how that little fellow can make things with just common clay out of the road,—figures of animals, and fruits, and people!'

"My hostess, behind her tea-table, leaned across as he finished his story, her sweet northern interest arousing, and said, 'I should think you would send him where they could develop his talent!'

"A smiling contempt for such notions spread over the southern man's features and he said, 'That would spoil a nigger!' "

Mother stopped and her voice was quite choking, so I asked "Is that why you're crying?" and she said:

"Oh, my laddie, for once in my life-time I am sighing and longing for money! And I wish I could go down and find him and bring him away from that country, where ignorant pride is the ruler! As I look at your table of figures and think of all I can give you, the thought of that other boy hurts me and I feel his quick, eager fingers straining around my heart's fancies! And I pray, with the strength of my soul's will, that such men as this southern captain may be brought in the end to God's judgment!"

A SONG OF HOPE

CHARLES BERTRAM JOHNSON

DAY is at the gate,
  I am risen late;
Clouds laze in the air,
  Clouds sleep on the grass;
I have song to spare
  Till the shadows pass.

Day is at the noon,
  No thread of bow or moon;
Rain is in the air,
  Drenched and limp the grass;
I have song to spare
  Till the shadows pass.

Day is at the close,
  Faith no logic knows;
Rain-clouds blur the air,
  All the world is dun;
I have song to spare
  Till to-morrow's sun.

ETHIOPIAN ART

MAUD CUNEY HARE

IN 1916, an expedition under Dr. Reisner was sent to Egypt by Harvard University and the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Mass.

The explorers have been particularly fortunate in unearthing new historical facts, by the excavation of the pyramids of Nuri, and have given the world the names of forgotten Ethiopian kings and queens.

During 1918-1919, the explorers returned to the Sudan to resume the excavations among the old royal burial grounds and had the remarkable good fortune (considered a feat in Egyptological circles), to find in fifteen days the tombs of all the kings of Ethiopia, from the founding of the Ethiopian monarchy, 750 B.C., until the passing of its power, 250 B.C.

Four months ago, announcement was made that the latest acquisitions of Egyptian art, of the hitherto obscure period, were to be exhibited at the Boston Museum.

Although not an Egyptologist, I have been interested for the past few years in following, with anticipated pleasure, the discoveries of Dr. Reisner in Egypt, and to note how truly the old legends and folk songs preserve the history and culture of a people.

Among the exhibits was a broad, gold collar of unique construction, an ornament of an unknown queen of Shabataka. It was a plain gold band of unusual width, with beveled edge, ornamented in the front and back by two figures—one of the familiar winged sun.

Dr. Reisner's statement that the Ethiopian monarchy had control over the exploitation of the gold fields of the eastern desert and other trade routes between Egypt and Central Africa, is borne out by the finding of many objects of solid gold as well as many gold beads of great value hidden in the debris in the tombs.

A mirror handle of King Shabataka, the third of the Ethiopian kings of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty (according to latest research) is one of great beauty. It is of bronze, with a handle of gilded electrum ornamented with figures representing the human body.

Specimens of Nubian art are bronze mirrors from the Middle Empire.

An important exhibit was an alabaster vase inscribed with names of an Ethiopian ruler, King Aspalta, 570 B.C. Other figures were of alabaster shawabti and stone shawabti representing King Tirhaka, taken from his pyramid tomb at Nuri. These objects are of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty, 663 B.C. The figures are about twelve inches in height and are of the Negro type.

Flint and chalcedony arrow-heads from tombs of the ancestors of an Ethiopian royal family, 900-800 B.C., are of great historical importance. Dr. Reisner uses the find of arrowheads, which are Libyan in form, as the basis for his deduction that the first ancestor of that period was not habituated to the use of Egyptian weapons, but states that he must have come from an area controlled by Libyan influences.

An alabaster face, from a royal statue of the Old Kingdom—Yiza—is what we would consider Negro in type.

Nubian scarabs, ebony figures with ivory inlays, and a decorated foot-board from a funerary bed (Nubian) are among the many objects which Dr. Reisner states are not only interesting "as specimens of royal work of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty, but also as throwing new light on the rise of the Egyptian Renaissance. . . . It is quite clear from the works of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty found at El-Kur'un and from the statuary of that period found in Egypt and in Ethiopia, that the revival of Egyptian art had begun and the naturalistic tendency in portraiture was well developed before the revival of Egyptian political power at Sais."

A number of pieces of Egyptian jewelry from royal tombs at Nuri and El-Kur'un are exquisite in workmanship. The beads of amethyst, carnelian and blue glazed quartz, from Kerma (Nubian—Middle Empire), and the gold necklaces of rare design (not altogether unlike the necklaces of West Africa), might fittingly be displayed among prized ornaments of a modern jeweler, rather than among the buried treasures of sleeping goldsmiths of centuries ago.

National · Association · for · the · ... Advancement · of · Colored · People.

OKLAHOMA

THE Tulsa Relief and Defense Fund Committee of the N. A. A. C. P. sends us the following letter, accompanied by an excellent report of the administration of funds so far placed in its hands. This committee, composed of prominent citizens of Oklahoma, who are principal members of the N. A. A. C. P., is co-operating with the Colored Citizens' Relief Committee of Tulsa. The letter states in part:

I have tried in every way to keep down expense and see to it that no funds (whether they come from you or otherwise) be spent without careful consideration. There are a thousand little needs for the sick and for children that we can never supply, but we can do our best. The fund is growing very low in Tulsa.

I cannot tell you just how much inspiration and hope our people seem to gain from the help you all are rendering. We have gone through it all with them. This makes my sixth visit of over 100 miles to Tulsa since we met last. They send their hearts in this letter to the Association.

It would have brought both tears and joy to you to have been there with us and to have heard the three judges, in their own manly way, tell the court and our attorneys that they declared the petition for the injunction against the city be sustained, and that the people could build their homes where and when they chose. Our attorneys, Mr. J. W. Burns, of Oklahoma City, and Mr. Scott, of Topeka, won our cause. We are preparing to enter our suit for damages. We have prepared over 1,300 cases and also have 7 from Anderson, S. C., which we hope to enter in the Federal Court.

A few weeks ago I spoke in Chickasha, Okla., before the branch there and raised $50 in a little while. I have directed Dr. W. A. J. Bullock, the president, to send the same direct to you. When this money comes from Chickasha, please write that branch an encouraging letter, for it is one of the best branches in the State.

We are trying hard to help and we are proud to say that the people are full of appreciation. Our work has been harmonious throughout and we hope to keep it so.

A. Baxter Whitby,
Chairman of Committee;
S. L. James,
C. F. Simmons.

THE TULSA INJUNCTION CASE

ONE of the most vicious aftermaths of the Tulsa riot was the passage of an ordinance extending the fire limit so that it might cover the devastated Negro district. This was obviously intended to prevent the rebuilding of Negro homes and business places and to force the Negro to sell.

The part of Tulsa in which their section was located was regarded as valuable property for business purposes, and it was announced that the Negro district would be moved to another section.

Stimulated by the State organization of the N. A. A. C. P., Negro property owners sought an injunction to prevent the operation of this ordinance. We have received word from Dr. A. Baxter Whitby, president of the Oklahoma branches of the N. A. A. C. P., that the courts have sustained injunction and that the ordinance has been declared invalid.

The Black Dispatch, of Oklahoma City, reports it as a "victory for the N. A. A. C. P." The case was heard before three of the judges of the county, sitting together. Their names are: W. B. Williams, Albert G. Hunt and L. B. Biddison.

The city of Tulsa demurred to the petition filed in the court by the Negro firm of lawyers, Spears, Chapelle and Franklin, but the demurrer was set aside and the injunction order entered. Attorney Elisha Scott of Topeka, Kan., and Judge J. W. Burns (white), of Oklahoma City, assisted in the action for the Negro petitioners. The court-room was crowded with both black and white people, but everyone seemed to take the affair in an orderly manner. The sentiment among the crowd of whites was in favor of the Negroes.

The action of the court will permit the immediate erection of homes by Negroes in the burned area. Hundreds of the Negroes will be able to erect their homes and it is thought that the court action will add to the power of the blacks to secure building loans upon their property.

W. HAYES McKINNEY ROBERT J. WILLIS W. H. HINTON

THOMAS RAY CASE

THE decision of Governor Groesbeck of Michigan in the extradition case of Thomas Ray marks the close of one of the most important extradition cases in modern times.

The State of Georgia used every resource to obtain Ray's return. A writ of extradition was granted by Governor Sleeper and the jubilant sheriff of Jasper County, Georgia, telegraphed the hour and the train on which he and his prisoner would arrive. It is stated that a mob met this train but on it there was no prisoner, for the attorneys for Ray and for the N. A. A. C. P. had found a legal means of delaying Ray's return to Georgia. For nearly a year the fight went on. It went before three judges before reaching the State Supreme Court, and when Governor Groesbeck acted, it was about to go to the United States Supreme Court. Three times the case came up before Governor Sleeper, and once before his successor, who was attorney-general under Sleeper.

Mr. Walter F. White was called in to testify in the courts and before Governor Sleeper. Our authoritative analysis of lynching—"Thirty Years of Lynching"—was admitted in testimony. A map showing lynchings in Georgia was used as evidence of the scant chance a Negro had to receive a fair trial there.

And then at length came the freedom of Ray, the story of which was told in last month's issue of THE CRISIS.

Too much praise cannot be given to Attorneys W. Hayes McKinney, W. H. Hinton and Robert J. Willis for the able manner in which they conducted the case and for the persistency of their efforts. The Detroit branch of the N. A. A. C. P., which largely financed the Ray case and whose president acted as chief advisory counsel, has reason to be proud of this accomplishment—the freeing of Thomas Ray. So important is this case in the history of extradition, that we have decided to print in full the decision of the Governor of Michigan:

In this proceeding, Thomas Ray, a Negro, is sought to be extradicted for the killing of one Faulkner, a white, in Wilkinson County, Georgia. The warrant for his arrest was issued upon the application of Faulkner's brother, who had no personal knowledge of the transaction. It seems that this is permissible under the laws of that State. He was subsequently indicted by a grand jury but the testimony of Charles Jones, the only person present at the time of the shooting, was not taken although he was within easy reach of the authorities. This man's statement has been taken here and that of the sheriff also. The former tells a very straightforward story, to the effect that Faulkner had employed Ray for four days sometime previous to the shooting without paying him; that Ray on one occasion had asked Faulkner for his wages, which seemed to anger him to the extent that he threatened Ray. The latter said he was sorry but his wife and children were without food. On the day of the fatal occurrence, Faulkner went over to the farm of a Mr. Hooten where Ray and Jones were working and immediately began going after Ray. He kept his hand on his hip pocket and said that their difficulty might just as well be settled then as any time. Ray again

said he was sorry he asked him for the money; that he meant no harm by it and did not want to be shot. Faulkner pulled his gun and fired twice at Ray, missing him both times. As he shot the last time Ray did the same thing and Faulkner was killed. The sheriff says that Jones told him the same story in Georgia and, further, that he believes he is telling the truth. This is a mere outline of the matter. The details as told by Jones include the narration of a visit by Faulkner to Ray's cabin a few days previous when he shot into the place several times, a story which is not questioned and which closely indicates that Faulkner was the aggressor and that he came to his death only after repeated attempts on Ray's life. In consequence, Ray's act was justifiable and his indictment without the taking of Jones' testimony unwarranted and illegal under both State and Federal law.

GOV. GROESBECK, OF MICHIGAN

There are a few sidelights which assist in clarifying the situation and aid in obtaining the proper view concerning what would now happen to Ray if opportunity presented itself. Subsequent to Ray's escape, Jones was arrested by the State police of Georgia. He was first taken to the jail at Milledgeville, then to another jail at Irwinton, and finally to the one at Macon. He says a considerable number of people were after him, bent upon taking the law in their own hands—that the reason of his being hurried from one jail to another was because a lynching was in store for him, etc. No one had accused him of shooting Faulkner. No warrant had been issued. No investigation had been made by the prosecuting officers which in any manner indicated that he was at all blamable. The sheriff frankly states that he has never investigated any of the facts surrounding the shooting of Faulkner and knows of no one else who has. Neither was there any investigation made of the shooting done by Faulkner at Ray's cabin. These admitted facts tell their own story. The conclusions necessarily flowing from them are perfectly obvious.

During the course of these proceedings it has been made to appear that there have been some one hundred and forty lynchings in that State within the past two years. Within a very short time, in the County of Wilkinson, there was a lynching without any subsequent investigation as to who the perpetrators were or anything being done except to remove the body and see to its burial. These conditions and facts indicate a disregard of the Constitutional safeguards and rights of one accused of crime by certain citizens of that State which cannot be ignored. Any person accused of the commission of an offense must be tried according to well known principles of law. These contemplate something more than the passing through of a few formalities and include within their purview not only a formal hearing and trial but a trial by those who are naturally actuated by a purpose and determination to see that the accused is given such a hearing as will insure the accomplishment of real and substantial justice, and this without regard to any consideration excepting the real merits of the individual case. Evidence that Ray will be thus tried by the citizens of Wilkinson County is entirely lacking. In fact, the contrary appears. It should never be necessary for the executive of one State to make assurance that the person sought to be extradicted will be accorded a fair trial in the State where the claimed offense was committed. The very fact that such assurances have been found to be necessary is indication of a condition which is all but desirable. Whenever the Governor of Michigan issued a requisition upon the Governor of Georgia for any person alleged to have committed a crime here and it is made to appear to the Governor of Georgia that the accused was either indicted upon rumor or hearsay when the testimony of an eye-witness was available, or that he cannot obtain a hearing such as is contemplated by the fundamental law, or that there is danger of violence being shown him when brought into the State of Michigan, I would consider it his plain duty to withhold extradition until such time as the manifest irregularities were investigated and corrected and he was satisfied that there was no likelihood of either of the two latter contingencies occurring.

In this particular case, in the light of its history and the facts that have been developed, extradition will at this time be refused, the opportunity being granted to present further facts as to changed conditions in Georgia when the authorities feel such action justifiable. The warrant for the extradition is recalled and the release of Ray ordered.

To Governor Groesbeck of Michigan, we are grateful for this example of democracy.

THE KU KLUX KLAN

ON July 20, Mr. Roland Thomas of the New York *World* called at the National Office and talked with the Secretary regarding a country-wide investigation of the Ku Klux Klan which was being undertaken by that newspaper, and asked that the National Association place in his hands any information and facts that it possessed. The Secretary placed at Mr. Thomas' disposal all the Ku Klux Klan material on file in the National Office. He also turned over to Mr. Thomas several documents revealing the workings of the Klan.

On September 6 the *World* began the publication of an exposé of the Ku Klux Klan. This exposé will consist of a series of 15 to 20 articles and is being carried simultaneously in the following prominent dailies: St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*, Boston *Globe*, Pittsburgh *Sun*, Cleveland *Plain Dealer*, New Orleans *Times-Picayune*, Houston *Chronicle*, Dallas *News* Galveston *News*, Seattle *Times*, Milwaukee *Journal*, Minneapolis *Journal*, Dayton *News*, Toledo *Blade*, Oklahoma City *Oklahoman*, Fort Wayne *News-Sentinel*, Syracuse *Herald*, Albany *Knickerbocker Press*.

In the third instalment, the documents turned over by the National Office to the New York *World* were reproduced in facsimile on the first page, and credit for them was given the Association.

The power of this action taken by the *World* in its fight against the Ku Klux Klan cannot be over-estimated.

The National Office has notified all the Association's branches to secure copies either of the New York *World* or one of the other newspapers carrying this series of articles, in order that they may have in their files the data needed in their local fight against this nefarous organization.

The National Office received telegrams from its Cleveland, Ohio, branch and from the Cleveland Association of Colored Men, stating that the Ku Klux Klan had advertised its intention to organize there, and requesting data on the Klan and its operations. We also received a telegram from the Honorable Harry Davis, Chairman of the Legal Redress Committee of the Cleveland Branch and a member of the National Board, asking that we forward information concerning the Klan to Mayor Fitzgerald of Cleveland.

We wrote the Mayor on August 25, asking that he take immediate action to prevent the establishment of a branch of this heinous organization in Cleveland.

Meantime the colored citizens of Cleveland got busy. On August 29, the Mayor addressed the city council, declaring that the Ku Klux Klan should not be permitted in Cleveland as it would be a hot-bed for stirring up race and religious prejudice. The city council then went on record as being unalterably opposed to the Ku Klux Klan.

On receipt of this information, the National Office wrote to Mayor Fitzerald:

> In behalf of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, permit me to thank you for your prompt and vigorous opposition to the formation of a branch of the Ku Klux Klan in Cleveland. There is no doubt of its vicious acts, and its sinister potentialities are evident to everybody.
>
> Should you at any time wish any further information on these lines or any co-operation toward promoting amicable race relations, we shall be delighted to have you call on us.

ANNUAL MEETING

THE time for the election of officers is approaching. The constitution calls for the annual meeting for the election of officers within the first ten days of November. Previous to this meeting, the Executive Committee should have the books of the secretary and the treasurer audited by a competent committee who have no relationship to the subject matter. The report of the auditing committee should be read at the annual meeting.

Reports of the secretary and the treasurer should also be given at this meeting. Notice of the annual meeting and of the election should be given two weeks in advance (the constitution demands at least seven days' notice). It should be announced in churches and lodges, printed in newspapers, and, if possible, personal notice should be given to all members. All members who have paid their annual fee by noon of the day of election are eligible as voters.

Branch members should think carefully about the election of officers. Those who have done good work should be continued in office and regard the opportunity to serve as an honor and a privilege. Where the branch has not done well, the members should seek to find the cause, and if it is the result of inattention, pre-occupied, or misfit officers, these had better be changed.

Men of the Month.

THE late Mr. James D. Carr served for 16 years as Assistant Corporation Counsel of New York City. He received his appointment during the first administration of Mayor McClellan, after having been Assistant District Attorney under Colonel Gardner.

Mr. Carr was born September 28, 1868, in Baltimore, Md., being the son of the late Rev. Dr. William C. Carr. At the age of 23, he was graduated from Rutgers College, where he gained admission to the *Phi Beta Kappa* Society, and was the first Negro graduate. Three years later he was graduated from the Law School of Columbia University, where he also took academic honors. In 1895 he was admitted to the Bar.

He was a member of the New York State Bar Association, New York County Lawyers' Association, Tammany Hall County Committee, and the treasurer and one of the founders of the Tammany Hall United Colored Democracy.

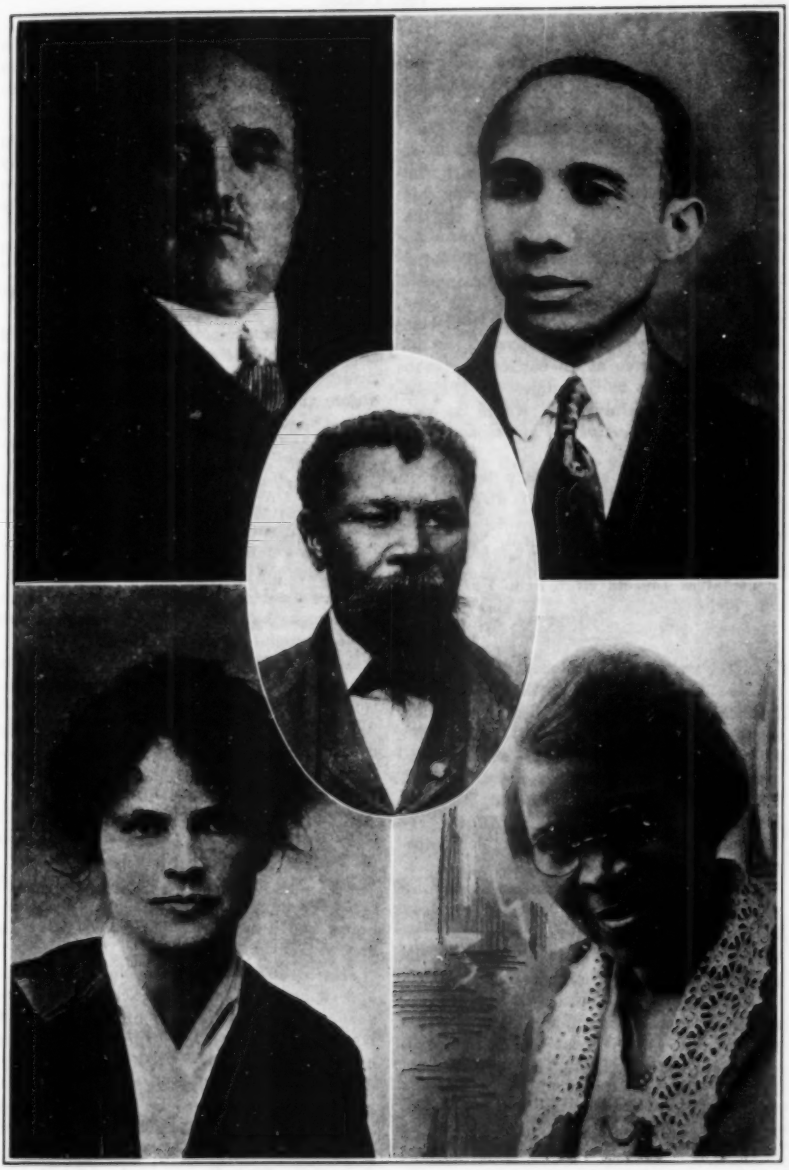
Perhaps Mr. Carr's most conspicuous service was his successful agitation for a colored regiment in New York State.

THE LATE MR. JAMES D. CARR

THE late Mr. John Brown of Montgomery, Ala., was a pioneer farmer. He was born March 11, 1855. While an employee of a coal company, he paid one-third of his $3 a month wage on an acre of land; later he bought 5 acres and for 5 years he and his wife peddled vegetables; then he was enabled to purchase 32 acres adjacent to some of Montgomery's valuable residential property. He opened a stall at the city market and kept it in operation 30 years. In 1910 he began a wholesale trucking business and conducted a fruit farm, employing as many as 100 men a day in the shipping season. Upon retiring, his farm commission merchants presented him with a diamond stud valued at $1,000.

Mr. Brown was a Mason and a deacon at Dexter Avenue Baptist Church. He leaves an estate estimated at $150,000 in cash, securities and real estate.

MR. H. RAY WOOTEN is principal of Howard High School at Wilmington, Del. He succeeds Miss Edwina B Kruse, who is principal emeritus.



THE LATE REV. MR. ROBERT F. WHEELER

MR. H. RAY WOOTEN

THE LATE MR. JOHN BROWN

MRS. DOROTHY CANFIELD FISHER

MRS. CHARLOTTE HAWKINS BROWN

Mr. Wooten was born in Oakdale, Pa., December 9, 1892. He was graduated from the Oakdale High School in 1907 as valedictorian, being the first of two Negro graduates. He won a scholarship to the University of Pittsburg, graduating in 1911, at the age of 18 and a half years, with the degree of Bachelor of Arts. During his college career he was a member of the Freshman Basket-Ball Team, the Freshman Track Team and for 3 years first 100 yard man of the Varsity Track Team and a member of the Varsity Relay Team. He was the first Negro to win the Varsity letter from the University of Pittsburgh, and he received his degree at an earlier age than any graduate up to this time. In 1915 he entered Cornell University, where he was president of the *Alpha Phi Alpha* Fraternity.

Mr. Wooten has served as a teacher of mathematics and director of athletics at Paine College, Augusta, Ga., and at the Slater State Normal School, Winston-Salem, N. C. During 1916-'20 he was principal of Lincoln High School at Paducah, Ky.

THE late Rev. Mr. Robert F. Wheeler was born at Mansfield, Ohio, December 9, 1850. He received his academic education in Canada and engaged in private study in Chicago and Cleveland. In 1874 he matriculated at the School of Theology, Howard University, and was graduated 3 years later. He was licensed in 1878 and ordained June 22, 1879, at First Congregational Church, Washington, D. C.

The Rev. Mr. Wheeler began preaching at Lincoln Mission—now Lincoln Temple—in Washington, in 1874. He served as chaplain at Freedmen's Hospital and as the pastor of Nazarene Congregational Church in Brooklyn, N. Y., Talcott Street Congregational Church, Hartford, Conn., for 30 years, and at Christ Congregational Church, Orange, N. J. He was retired January, 1919.

Of the Rev. Mr. Wheeler, it is said: "He was a man of convictions, of independent thought; he did his own thinking, formed his own opinions, and held tenaciously to them. He believed in the Negro's right, and that it was a duty to stand up manfully in the defense of these rights."

In 1880 Rev. Mr. Wheeler married Miss Mary C. Freeman, of New York. His widow and 4 children—among them Miss Laura Wheeler, the artist—and 5 grandchildren survive him.

DOROTHY CANFIELD'S distinction among American authors is not only that she has consistently faced the Negro problem, but that she has consistently handled it without compromise. Mrs. Fisher is known to readers of THE CRISIS through her story, "An American Citizen," published in the April and May, 1920, issues

Of Vermont ancestry, Dorothy Canfield naturally inherited a sturdy abolitionist tradition and unlike many heirs of this tradition, she has steadily carried it forward. Her two best known novels, "The Bent Twig" and "The Brimming Cup" (Harcourt Brace & Howe, New York), bear witness to her inflexible determination not to leave the Negro as he is out of her pictures of American life.

This is a note too rarely struck in American fiction and Mrs. Fisher's steadfast insistence on it makes a new book by her an event to be hailed with joy by all believers in inter-racial justice.

Dorothy Canfield, whose full name is Dorothy Canfield Fisher, was born in Lawrence, Kan.. in 1879, and educated in Ohio. She is a Ph.D. of Columbia, and wrote many treatises on education before she began writing fiction.

MRS. CHARLOTTE HAWKINS BROWN is the founder and principal of Palmer Memorial Institute at Sedalia, N. C. The institution, which was started 20 years ago with a church for a schoolhouse and a log cabin for a dormitory, is now valued at $250,000.

Mrs. Brown was born in North Carolina, and educated in the public schools of Massachusetts and at the summer schools of Harvard and Chicago Universities. She has served as president of the North Carolina Federation of Colored Women's Clubs. vice-president-at-large of the Southeast Federation, and corresponding secretary of the National Federation. She is vice-president of the State Teachers' Association and was recently appointed as the first colored committee member of the National Board of the Young Women's Christian Association.

The Looking Glass

LITERATURE.

IN an article in *The Outlook*, entitled "Some Singing Johnsons," Robert T. Kerlin, well-known as the author of *The Voice of the Negro*, discusses sympathetically three books of poems: *Songs of My People*, by Charles Bertram Johnson; *A Little Dreaming*, by Fenton Johnson, and *The Heart of a Woman*, by Georgia Douglas Johnson.

Of *A Little Dreaming*, he says:

Fenton Johnson's songs blossom out of the old plantation "spirituals" of the slaves. Do you, good reader, know about those "spirituals"? They are one of the most wonderful melodic achievements of our race: quaint, rude, primitive, pathetic beyond parallel, inexpressibly appealing; a people's "canticles of *faith* and woe," to change one word in a famous line. Fenton Johnson's melodies suggest these classics.

The Heart of a Woman elicits this judgment:

Without one word or hint of race in all the book, there is yet between its covers the unwritten, unwritable tragedy of that borderland race which knows not where it belongs in the world. A sadder book has not appeared among us.

* * *

We quote a few lines from Fenton Johnson's poem, "The New Day":

From Ethiopia, groaning 'neath her heavy burdens, I heard the music of the old slave songs.
I heard the wail of warriors, dusk brown, who grimly fought the fight of others in the trenches of Mars.
I heard the plea of blood-stained men of dusk and the crimson in my veins leapt furiously.

Forget not, O my brothers, how we fought
In No Man's Land, that peace might come again!
Forget not, O my brothers, how we gave
Red blood to save the freedom of the world!
We were not free, our tawny hands were tied;
But Belgium's plight and Serbia's woes we shared
Each rise of sun or setting of the moon.
So when the bugle blast had called us forth
We went not like the surly brute of yore,
But, as the Spartan, proud to give the world
The freedom that we never knew nor shared.
These chains, O brothers mine, have weighed us down
As Samson in the temple of the gods;
Unloosen them and let us breathe the air
That makes the goldenrod the flower of Christ.
For we have been with thee in No Man's Land,
Through lake of fire and down to Hell itself;
And now we ask of thee our liberty,
Our freedom in the land of Stars and Stripes.

* * *

During the current year *The World Tomorrow* has published the following editorials and articles on the Negro: *"What Manner of Man Is the Negro?"* by Bessie W. Stillman; an article on *"Haiti,"* by Ernest Gruening; *"The Unsolved Race Problem; Garveyism,"* by Worth M. Tuttle, and *"The Tulsa Horror."*

* * *

The Pacific Review for June contains a symposium called *"The Melting Pot—A Nation in the Making,"* to which the editor of THE CRISIS contributes an article entitled, *"The Contribution of the Negro to American Life and Culture."*

* * *

The Stratford Company issues *The Wings Oppression*, a book of poems by Leslie Pinckney Hill.

* * *

Unity for June 16 contains a striking article by John Haynes Holmes, entitled "Tulsa!"

OLD LANDMARK DESTROYED.

IN the New York *Evening Mail* we read:

New England's thunderstorm damage last week was broad and serious enough to warrant chronicle in the national annals for 1921. With an estimated loss of $200,000 to growing tobacco ruined by hail, Southington, Conn., of many scores of localities between the lower Litchfield hills and Biddeford, in Maine, was the worst sufferer financially. But Williamstown, Mass., under the howl of wind and crash of thunder, was compelled to witness wreckage of more than 100 fine old elms and maples,

which for a generation and more had notably contributed toward the reputation of this famous county seat as perhaps the most beautiful in all America.

Yet in Packerville, a seldom mentioned but historic hamlet near Moosup, at the eastern border of Connecticut, came a depredation of the elements irreparable indeed. Lightning struck and burned the ancient Church of Freedom, the first church in New England where colored people were taken in fellowship as equals. In the time of the early anti-slavery agitation this church became renowned throughout the country. It was one of the terminals of the "underground railroad" along which the Abolitionists ran slaves from the plantations of the South. Prudence Crandall and her "Misses of Color" were here protected from persecution.

At the little Packerville Church of Freedom, Charles Burleigh, afterward mobbed in Boston with William Lloyd Garrison, preached his first abolitionist sermon. In this church Rev. Dr. Charles H. Spalding, who became head of the American Baptist Publishing Society, was baptized. The first woman's temperance society in Connecticut was organized here, a lineal forerunner of the W. C. T. U. In addition to Galusha Crow, recalled as a member of Lincoln's official family; William Mason, a most noted industrial pioneer, and Judge Asa Packer, who founded the Bethlehem Iron Works and built the Lehigh Valley Railroad, it has been said:

> There are more people scattered over the hills of New England and other states that have gone into active business, social and religious work from the Church of Freedom than from any other small church in the country.

A most honorable landmark of New England is forever destroyed.

THE HAITIAN DISGRACE.

THE NATION seems to anticipate a failure on the part of the Senate Committee of Inquiry to make an investigation sufficiently thorough to bring out the complete truth. It says editorially:

The fight to end the standing disgrace to the American name in Haiti and Santo Domingo will not end until that disgrace is ended, however long that may be. The Senate Committee of Inquiry, which has begun its sessions, can do much to stop at once the intolerable wrongs this Government has committed in those unfortunate countries, if it will. But it will be a great misfortune if its sessions are hurried, or if there is no opportunity afforded to cross-examine witnesses and to subpœna those who have facts to give, notably certain witnesses from official life. The facts as to the atrocities are no more important than a clear-cut presentation of the whole picture of our official imperialism. If the investigators go at the matter in the right spirit, they will show as complete a piece of brutal overseas conquest without the slightest consideration for the victims as can be produced anywhere in modern times. But to accomplish this, the committee's hearings must be open and complete and freest opportunity given to present the Haitian and Santo Dominican side, and, unless immunity is not only guaranteed by the committee but made certain, no native witness will dare testify to anything unfavorable.

THE LIBERIAN LOAN.

SAYS *The Nation* editorially:

Little Liberia was forced into the war because a few perfectly good German ships had taken refuge in her harbors, and the noble Allies could not get their hands on those ships so long as Liberia remained a neutral. In the generous days of 1918, our Government sweetly promised to "lend" Liberia five million dollars, whether to aid in outfitting the Liberian army or to facilitate Liberian purchases of American supplies does not appear in the public record. At any rate, the Liberians were egregiously slow; they had drawn only $25,000 on the five million before our Congress stopped further advances to foreign powers. This $25,000 paid the Liberian expenses at that Versailles Peace Conference, at which the representatives of the small powers provided such attractive mural decoration. Now President Harding and Secretary Hughes have discovered that a "moral obligation" rests upon the United States to pay the rest of the proffered loan. Whatever America can do to give real help to the Negro republic of Liberia should be done; but somehow we should be more enthusiastic about the "moral obligation" if President Harding had not added that the loan was "highly important from the standpoint of the proper protection and promotion of American commercial interests on the west coast of Africa."

ANOTHER ANGLE OF TULSA.

WE quote from an article of Amy Comstock in *The Survey*:

Tulsa is new. Its newness excuses it to some modified extent for its failures. You cannot build a city of a hundred thousand people in a span of fifteen years without a heavy load of construction cost. Most cities grow slowly. Tulsa grew fast. When pavements and sewers, water and gas mains all are laid in a few years, to say nothing of schools and public buildings, the tax rates climb high. In the hurried construction of Tulsa, that section which was known as "Niggertown" was pretty much neglected. Before this Negro district was burned, you would have seen an offensive sight had you come into Tulsa on the Santa Fe. Improvised shanties

abounded, with out-houses standing on stilts and yards in conspicuous disorder. There were water mains through the section for fire prevention purposes, but all inadequate, and of sewers there were none. Here the colored child had at best a poor start. His outlook on life was anything but bright or aesthetic. He lived a long way from his white neighbors, where things were better. He knew another world. The conditions under which he lived were a constant menace to the health of the city. But that was the condition that prevailed in Washington, right under the shadow of the capitol of the nation.

* * * * *

It is a sad truth to admit, but Tulsa has been pretty much the crook's paradise. He was least molested here. Bootlegging and gambling have been traditional. For years they have been recognized as close to legitimate trades. Hi-Jacking, as the Westerner calls bandit practices, was common, and auto stealing was so common that many insurance companies would not write auto policies. Real, honest effort to apprehend and arrest the crook was not the practice in Tulsa. The state recently created two new courts to take care of the criminal calendar which was loaded up with over six thousand untried cases.

It was in the sordid and neglected "Niggertown" that the crooks found their best hiding place. It was a cesspool of crime. There were the low brothels where the low whites mixed with the low blacks. There were the dope venders and the dope consumers. There crimes were plotted and loot hidden. One city administration after another looked after the "uptown" traffic regulations, saw to it that you did not park your auto where you should not, but let "Niggertown" pretty much alone. There, for months past, the bad "niggers," the silk-shirted parasites of society, had been collecting guns and munitions. Tulsa was living on a Vesuvius that was ready to vomit fire at any time. Officials admit they knew of it but hoped it would not come off. And the argonauts were all too busy panning gold to care.

* * *

The writer sums up as follows:

The cause of the Tulsa race riot was the cause that is common to all race riots, plus a city too busy building up to give thought or care to the spawning pools of crime that indifferent citizens thought did not really matter because it was "over there." Now they know better. Most such disasters bring their resultant good. Tulsa teaches a lesson to other cities. Don't neglect the "over there." Teach the "over there" to live more like the "over here." It is that kind of living that cultivates understanding and levels the rough prejudices into a smoother friendliness.

A new Tulsa is born. An awakened citizenship now administers Tulsa, and the crooks who are not caught have for the most part scampered out of town. Tulsa is no longer going to sweep her dirt under the carpet and fool herself into thinking that it is not there.

Tulsa, the beautiful, busy, prosperous metropolis of the Mid-Continent, is going to be as proud of her decency and deportment as in the past she has been of her sky line that towers above the western horizon like a Fujiyama silhouetted against the setting sun.

THE FEDERAL COUNCIL AND THE NEGRO.

AMONG the numerous agencies which are attempting to solve the countless perplexing problems of the present day is the Commission on Negro Churches and Race Relations, set in motion by the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America. We read:

The first meeting of the new commission was recently held in Washington, D. C., under the chairmanship of John J. Eagan of Atlanta, who is president of the Atlanta Council of Churches and one of the leading Christian laymen in the South. A vice-chairman is to be named from the Negro churches. The commission is made up of about one hundred leading representatives of the white and colored churches, the majority being residents of the South.

The whole day was spent in discussing the distinctive contribution of the churches to bettering relations between the races. It was agreed that the church, being committed to the principle that humanity is an organism, cannot accept as a satisfactory solution the theory that inter-racial conflict is inevitable, or that the races should be segregated from each other, or that they should be amalgamated, or that any one race is meant to have special privileges which are to be denied to others. The Christian solution lies in the races living together in mutual helpfulness, service, and good-will.

"The problems of race," said Dr. Robert E. Speer, president of the Council, at the opening meeting, "are the most difficult of mankind. They make the most searching tests of our ideals and principles. We, as Christians, reject the theory of conflict and force as a means of solving these problems. We reject the theory of separation as a solution. We must work out the problems of the white and Negro races together. We are all committed to the idea that co-operative good-will can solve these problems."

* * *

The following program of work, as adopted at this meeting, gives the aims of the Commission better than any attempted description can narrate them:

"To assert the sufficiency of the Christian solution of race relations in America and the duty of the churches and all their organizations to give the most careful attention to this question;

"To provide a central clearing-house and meeting-place for the churches and for all Christian agencies dealing with the relation of the white and Negro races, and to support their activities along this line;

"To promote mutual confidence and acquaintance, both nationally and locally, between the white and Negro churches, especially by state and local conferences between white and Negro ministers, Christian educators and other leaders, for the consideration of their common problems;

"To array the sentiment of the Christian churches against mob violence and to enlist their thorough-going support in a special program of education on the subject for a period of at least five years;

"To secure and distribute accurate knowledge of the facts regarding racial relations and racial attitudes in general, and regarding particular situations that may be under discussion from time to time;

"To develop a public conscience, which will secure to the Negro equitable provision for education, health, housing, recreation, and all other aspects of community welfare;

"To make more widely known in the churches the work and principles of the Commission on Inter-racial Co-operation, and especially to support its efforts to establish local inter-racial committees; and

"To secure the presentation of the problem of race relations and of the Christian solution by white and Negro speakers at as many church gatherings as possible throughout the country."

* * *

It is interesting to note the omission of any reference to Jim Crowism or the suffrage.

THE BOYCOTT IN INDIA

IN a recent issue of *The Freeman* appears the following from the pen of Basanta Koomar Roy:

Self-reliance is the cardinal doctrine of the non-coöperation movement fathered by Mahatma (Saint) Gandhi, a movement which is sweeping through India like a forest fire. According to this spiritual leader and political prophet, the British Government in India is "an irresponsible, insolent and godless bureaucracy," and is "wholly evil in its totality." Therefore, he declares that he "seeks to, and must destroy the system." To him this is not only a civic duty, but a spiritual obligation as well.

The destruction of an alien government by a subject people held in unwilling submission at the point of the bayonet is not a new thing in the world, but never perhaps in recorded history has there been another attempt on such a gigantic scale to win a victory by purely peaceful means. Strange are the weapons of this war without violence—the weapons of non-hatred, self-restraint and non-coöperation. It was through the influence of Gandhi that this titanic movement of such far-reaching consequences was officially adopted by the Indian National Congress a few months ago. The provisions of non-coöperation embrace the surrender of all titles of honor; the settlement of disputes by private arbitration, and the suspension of practice by lawyers; the boycott of government-controlled schools and colleges; the boycott of British goods; the gradual resignation of all government employees, including the police and the soldiers; and lastly, the refusal to pay taxes to the alien government.

The object of the movement is avowedly to paralyze the British Government of India. The first condition of success, according to Gandhi and his followers, is the absolute abstinence from any act of violence. Even violent thoughts and words are to be studiously avoided.

* * *

Mr. Roy continues:

Considering the active opposition of the British Government and the Indian royalists, the country as a whose has marvelously responded to the call of the Mahatma. Although the modern Indian nationalist movement began in Bengal in 1905, a true national leader was wanting. This has at last been found in the unique personality of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi. The saintliness of his character and the utter unselfishness of his motives have won for him the unalloyed confidence and unconditional obedience of the teeming millions of Hindustan. True, there are many who, in spite of their profound reverence for their great leader, are not strong enough to renounce all their earthly treasures for the joy of supreme self-sacrifice, and for the boon of helping to win a national government for their native land. But, day by day, the conditions all around them are forcing even these weaker brethren to think seriously of their responsibilities to the great cause.

In the meantime, in response to a national appeal, about 30,000 men and women have returned to the British Government their titles and badges and medals of "honor." Those who still cling to these things are being socially ostracized. Hundreds of candidates who stood for election in the so-called reformed councils created by the new Indian "Home Rule" Act withdrew their candidacy. Thousands of lawyers of eminence have given up their practices in the British courts. Mr. C. R. Das, for example, who had a monthly income

ALPHA KAPPA ALPHA SORORITY, ST. LOUIS, MO.

of about $15,000 from an extensive practice of law in the High Court of Calcutta, has given up his practice and is now working with Gandhi for the attainment of Swaraj (National Government).

* * *

The most effective means to the desired end is the boycott. Mr. Roy says of this:

The formidable boycott of British goods in India is inflicting immeasurable injury upon British political prestige and financial power. After all, British administration in India is only another name for unbridled exploitation of India's fields, farms, factories, markets, mines, and raw materials. This systematic exploitation of India keeps the idle rich of Britain in abominable luxury, the British workingmen in abject poverty, and more than half the world inextricably chained to the chariot-wheels of British imperialism. More than any other single factor, this boycott of British goods in India threatens to put an end to this state of affairs.

* * *

A side light on the world-wide dissemination of the prohibition doctrine is to be noted in the following:

Because drunkards can not be efficient workers in a sacred cause like this, Gandhi has declared that drink-shops and drinking must disappear from India. The boycott of liquor, opium and hemp is spreading throughout every province. Saloons are disappearing everywhere, even in the city of Calcutta. Men who haunt saloons or drink at home are socially ostracized. This is another blow at British rule, for the liquor traffic is a monopoly of the British Government in India from which it derives enormous revenues. On account of this boycott against drink, many saloon-keepers have given up their leases, and many more are refusing to renew theirs. The British Government, consequently, is uselessly doing all that it can to crush the temperance movement in India.

But the most dramatically significant factor in the non-coöperation movement is the whole-hearted manner in which the workingmen of India are supporting Mahatma Gandhi and the cause he represents. The Indian workingman, mercilessly exploited and criminally neglected, holds the key to the situation today. He is in the vast majority, and potentially he is the dominant power in the land. Already he is giving substantial evidences of his self-realization. Trade unions are increasing in strength and numbers everywhere. Almost every profession is thoroughly organized. The labor unions are closely co-operating with the political leaders. At the least provocation, the workers declare a strike. At present the strikes are mostly directed against the British Government, British merchants, British manufacturers and British employers in general.

The dynamic potency of this new movement may be measured by what happened not long ago, in Bombay. An "epidemic" of strikes swept the "Queen City." The longshoremen struck work, and shipping was at a standstill and the entire waterfront was paralyzed; the trolley strike stopped transportation; a railway strike cut off all communication with outside; the gas men's strike plunged the city in darkness; the telegraph operators' and postmen's strike made the receipt of messages impossible. The city was practically in a state of siege, and thus the vaunted power of the mighty British *Raj* was non-violently reduced to nothing by the might of Indian labor.

Who can wonder that the British Government today stands aghast at the prospect it sees ahead; no wonder that the British newspapers in India and in England are crying curses on the non-coöperation movement. To one such criticism in the *Times of India* of Bombay, Mahatma Gandhi replied recently:

"The *Times of India* considers the non-coöperation movement to be 'an easy descent to hell.' I respectfully urge that it is a difficult ascent to heaven. If it was a movement to produce anarchy, surely it would be precipitated any moment. The *Times of India* and other critics who, I believe, are anxious to understand the inwardness of the struggle, will do well to appreciate the fact that not only I, but all the leaders, are doing their utmost to prevent anarchy. It is no use isolating me from the rest."

Non-coöperation is strengthening both the body and soul of India. It is more of a spiritual than a political movement. Whatever may be its outcome, the awakened people of India are at least giving the people of England ample warning that the time has come for a peaceful evacuation of the Indian motherland.

In British East Africa, some of the most useful work which the society did last year was to protest against the regretable ordinance sanctioned by the Colonial Office, which made the natives of Kenya, unless they could show they had done three months' work, liable to 60 days' forced labor away from their homes, in addition to 24 days' forced labor for local community purposes—that is to say, 84 days' forced labor in the course of the year. If that was not slavery, it was sailing very near the wind. The proper way to get the natives to work for the white men was to give them proper conditions of employment, not to force them: let them be well housed and fed, and well paid, and it is pretty certain there will be no difficulty in getting the black man to work for the white.

COMPILED BY MADELINE G. ALLISON

SOCIAL PROGRESS

DURING the past 30 years, Negroes in Baltimore, Md., have, among other achievements, made the following progress: public school teachers, 0—400; physicians, 6—40; dentists, 2—24; drug stores, 1—13, with 21 registered pharmacists; lawyers, 6—36; hospitals, 0—2, with 50 nurses; post office employees, 2—80; real estate and insurance brokers, 0—30; notary publics, 0—11; churches, 26—100; public schools, 1—18; banking institutions, 0—4.

¶ The Boston, Mass., Post Office, has a Negro Assistant Superintendent of Mails, in the person of William A. Goodell. Mr. Goodell has served as a clerk in the Post Office for 41 years.

¶ T. Henry Waters, a Negro in Baltimore, Md., has bought a $12,000 residence on Hamilton Terrace, a white section.

¶ Dr. Cox, of Dayton, Ohio, has been appointed a member of the Pension Examining Board. Dr. Cox, who is a graduate of Howard, has been practising in Dayton for 16 years.

¶ Thirty Negroes passed the examination for policemen in St. Louis, Mo. Messrs. Logan and Crockett have been members of the Detective Bureau for a number of years.

¶ Dr. H. Julian, a Negro student at McGill University, Montreal, Canada, has conceived a new invention in aeroplane safety appliances. The invention has brought an offer of $300,000 from the Curtis Aeroplane Company for patent rights and one of $150,000 from the Gerni Aeroplane Company of Montreal. Dr. Julian, who is a native West Indian, is 24 years of age.

¶ The 2nd Cavalry Division of the United States Army has been placed on the inactive list, through the reduction of the army to 150,000 men. Among regiments demobilized are units of the 9th and 10th Cavalries.

¶ Dr. J. R. A. Crossland, a Negro of St. Joseph, Mo., has been appointed Special Expert in the Veterans' Bureau, to look after the interests of Negro soldiers and sailors. This bureau, which is located in Washington, D. C., has been created by Congress in place of the Bureau of War Risk Insurance and is a consolidation of all such agencies. Dr. Crossland served as United States Minister and Consul-General of Liberia under President Roosevelt. He lost his only son in the late war.

¶ Monroe N. Work, director of Records and Research at Tuskegee Institute, has been appointed a consultant in statistical studies of the National Tuberculosis Association. Mr. Work is the only Negro among 11 members of the Consulting Board.

¶ The Haiti-Santo Domingo Independence Society has been organized in New York City, with Moorfield Storey, chairman; James Weldon Johnson, vice-chairman; Helena Hill Weed, secretary, and Robert Herrick, treasurer. Its objects are: "To secure an open, thorough and complete investigation of the military occupation of the Republics of Haiti and Santo Domingo; to work for the immediate restoration of full national independence of these nations; and to take such other steps as the society may deem wise to establish friendly cooperation and give disinterested aid on a basis of mutual understanding and international justice."

¶ The Chicago Board of Censors has a Negro member, the Rev. Mr. Alonzo J. Bowling. Mr. Bowling has held this position for the past 7 years.

¶ Fred D. McCracken, colored Town Manager at Truxton, Va., has resigned and the town, which was built by the U. S. Housing Corporation for Negroes doing war work, is to be consolidated with Cradock, a white settlement. During his two years' service Mr. McCracken collected $200,000 for the government and disbursed $25,000. A school has been named in his honor.

¶ Dr. Reginald Matthews has been appointed a Dental Interne at the Old General Hospital, Kansas City, Mo. Dr. Matthews is a graduate of Howard and a member of the Phi Beta Sigma Fraternity.

¶ The United States Government has granted patent No. 1,384,134, dated July 12, 1921, to Norman Jackson, a Negro of Washington, D. C., for a pneumatic tire. The tire is made in sections and is so constructed that if punctured in one or more places the air is retained in the rest of the tire, thereby preventing collapse.

¶ Dr. John P. Turner, of Philadelphia, has written "Ringworm and Its Successful Treatment." The book is published by F. A. Davis Company, Philadelphia, and is said to be the first purely medical work written by a Negro.

¶ As a protest against restrictions laid upon Negroes in the use of elevators, the Lincoln Reserve Life Insurance Company of Birmingham, Ala., has refused to continue the occupancy of offices in the Jefferson County Bank Building.

¶ The report that Mrs. J. B. Stratford was a victim of the Tulsa, Okla., riot was in error. Mrs. Stratford lost her hotel and 17 houses, but she escaped unhurt.

¶ During the preceding decade, the white population of New York State increased 13.4%; among Negroes the increase was 47.9%.

¶ Professor Robert T. Kerlin has been dismissed from the faculty of the Virginia Military Institute, at Lynchburg, for having addressed an open letter to the Governor of Arkansas which "reflected upon the administration of justice in that State" in connection with the trial of Negroes implicated in the Elaine riots.

¶ Mayor Thompson, of Chicago, Ill., has appointed Charles S. Duke, a Negro, as a member of the Zoning Commission. Mr. Duke was graduated in 1913 from the University of Wisconsin with the Master's degree in civil engineering. He has been an employee in the Engineering Bureau of the city of Chicago.

¶ The Tennessee Pension Board has granted pensions of $10 a month to 47 Negroes who served in the Confederate Army.

¶ At Darby, Pa., there is a population of 800 Negroes, three-fourths of whom own or are buying their homes.

MUSIC AND ART

"PUT AND TAKE," a Negro play, is being presented in the Town Hall, New York City. Irvin C. Miller wrote the play and Spencer Williams composed the music. Both are Negroes.

¶ Charles Kech, of New York, is making a sculpture of the late Dr. Booker T. Washington. The work shows Dr. Washington drawing back the veil of ignorance from the colored race. It will be unveiled at Tuskegee next spring.

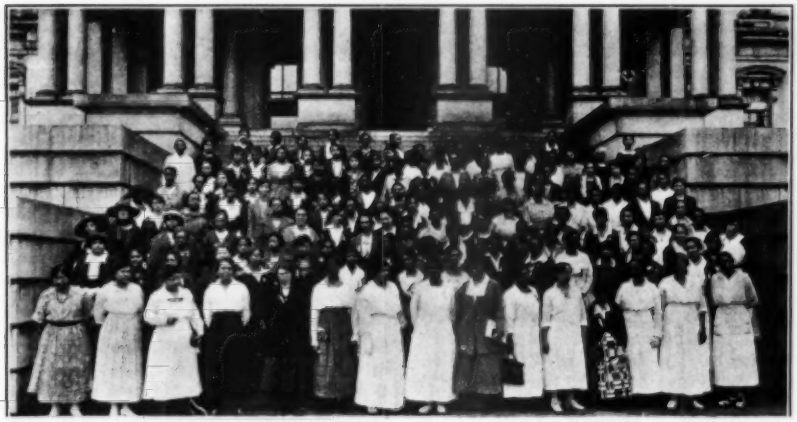
¶ The *Diapason*, official journal of the National Association of Organists, says: "'Swing Low, Sweet Chariot' by Carl Diton, is one of the outstanding organ compositions of recent years."

¶ Mme. E. Azalia Hackley has suffered a nervous breakdown. She is in Detroit, Mich. Specialists, who are treating her, hold out but little hope for the return of her health and none at all that she will ever be able to resume her work.

¶ Mr. C. M. Battey, in charge of the Photographic Division at Tuskegee Institute, was the only Negro in attendance at the annual convention of the Photographers' Association of America. Mr. Battey submitted 5 photographic studies, 4 of which were exhibited.

¶ At the Pageant of Progress in Chicago, Ill., James A. Mundy, Pauline James Lee and J. Wesley Jones had charge of the singing of the colored groups. Mr. Mundy's chorus opened the pageant and was the only group that sang in the Auditorium; Miss Lee had charge of a men's chorus; Mr. Jones directed the community singing of folk songs on barges.

¶ Marion Anderson, the young colored contralto, has appeared in a recital at the Young People's Temple, Ocean Grove, N. J. She was assisted by the choir of St. Stephen's A. M. E. Church, for which the musical was given. The *Asbury Park Evening Press* says: "Miss Anderson was forced to encore, and at the close of her last group of songs the audience demanded two encores before they would permit her to sing the last number on the program." The numbers were works of Tschaikowsky, Burleigh, Dett, Johnson and Cook. Eugene R. Hayes directed the choir and the Misses Dora Hodges and Marie Holland were accompanists.



NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF COLORED GRADUATE NURSES.

MEETINGS

THERE were over 100 delegates in attendance at the convention of the National Association of Negro Musicians. Fourteen Negro composers were presented on the program. Henry L. Grant, of Washington, D. C., was re-elected president.

¶ The California Federation of Colored Women's Clubs has held its 15th annual session in Los Angeles. Mayor Hart delivered the welcome address. The degree Emeritus was conferred upon Mrs. Eliza Warner, first honorary president; Mrs. Pearl L. Winters was elected to succeed the retiring president, Mrs. Lulu Slaughter. During the year the federation gave 3 scholarships.

¶ The National Negro Business League in its 22nd annual session in Atlanta, Ga., re-elected Dr. R. R. Moton, of Tuskegee, to the presidency. Mayor Key welcomed the visitors, among whom was President King of Liberia.

¶ At the meeting of the National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses, held in Washington, D. C., addresses were delivered by 11 doctors and 13 registered nurses. Mrs. Adah B. Thoms, of Lincoln Hospital, New York, is the president.

¶ Notable among Negro delegates to conventions of the National Association of Letter Carriers are Messrs. Hill and Dora of Mississippi. Mr. Hill fought a racial discriminating amendment which was taken up by Branch No. 36 of New York City, and won overwhelmingly. There is no "Constitutional bar" against Negro members.

THE CHURCH

OF 60 Negro Presbyterian churches in the North, 25 are self-supporting. St. James, in New York City, has 1,000 members; Lafayette, in Jersey City, and Grace, in Pittsburgh, have each a membership of 600. During last year, the self-supporting congregations raised $200,000.

¶ St. Augustine's P. E. Church in Brooklyn, N. Y., has purchased a site upon which an edific costing $100,000 will be erected. The pastor is the Rev. Mr. George F. Miller.

¶ At Knox Presbyterian Church, Toronto, Canada, a Negro minister, the Rev. Mr. Joseph J. Hill, of Hot Springs, Ark., officiated during the pastor's absence.

FRATERNITIES

THE United Brothers of Friendship and the Sisters of the Mysterious Ten have held a week's convention in Cincinnati, with 1,500 persons in attendance. The organizations were founded in 1861. Dr. W. Jameson, of Peoria, Ill., is National Grand Master and Mrs. Edmonia Watkins of Cairo, Ill., is National Grand Priestess.

¶ South Carolina Knights of Pythias have a surplus of $108,000. During the past year, 33 new lodges were instituted; the receipts were $130,000, showing $70,000 in new business over the previous year. The order, which was established 17 years ago, has 20,000 financial members enrolled in 355 lodges. The Grand Chancellor is J. A. Brown of Charleston.

¶ The Grand United Order of Odd Fellows of Texas has held its 42nd annual meeting. The report of J. H. Riddle, endowment secretary, shows $358,263 collected, $149,248 disbursed, and a cash balance of $209,014; the total membership is 23,251, an increase of 3,151 for the year. H. G. Goree is Grand Master.

¶ Odd Fellows of New York have elected Harry Edwards as Grand Worthy Master to succeed W. David Brown. James F. Adair remains Grand Secretary; all other officers were supplanted. There are 7,000 Odd Fellows and 4,000 Ruthites in New York; their financial worth is $126,241.

¶ Over 5,000 people attended the 22nd annual convention of Negro Shriners held in St. Louis. Mayor Kiel welcomed the delegation, which represented every State in the Union.

¶ The 22nd annual convention of Negro Elks has met in Boston, Mass. There were 20,000 visitors in the city and a parade of 8,000 Elks. George Wibecan, of Brooklyn, N. Y., was elected Grand Exalted Ruler, succeeding George McMechan, of Baltimore. The organization has 245 lodges and a membership of 50,000.

¶ At the session of American Woodmen held in Denver, Colo., Governor Shoup, Mayor Bailey, William Pickens and the Rev. Mr. W. H. Thomas were among the speakers. The American Woodmen is perhaps the greatest fraternal insurance society among Negroes. It has assets of nearly $1,000,000, a lodge system, and policies aggregating $40,000,000. The Supreme Commander is C. M. White, of Denver.

¶ The Grand United Order of Odd Fellows of Missouri has adopted the following measures: To give 3 scholarships of $200 each to Lincoln University at Jefferson City, Mo.; to establish a committee on Crime and Penal Institutions, whose duty it shall be to co-operate with any other similar agencies designed to prevent injustices perpetrated upon Negroes both by lawless mobs and in the name of the law; to promote a trust company. The Grand Master is W. C. Hueston.

¶ Mosaic Templars of America have held their quadrennial convention in Little Rock, Ark. There were 2,500 delegates and 19,000 visitors present. Chester E. Bush, son of the founder of the organization and successor to his father as National Grand Scribe and Secretary, reported the assets of the Templars to be $1,032,981; liabilities, $46,550. Should conditions in the South warrant such action, a law was passed, permitting the headquarters to be moved from Little Rock to the North. Mr. S. J. Elliott was re-elected National Grand Master.

AMERICAN LEGION

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON Post 15 of New York, American Legion, has established a Mutual Aid Committee for the handling of papers, executive affidavits, etc., in settlement claims.

¶ Lemuel C. Boydston Post 89, American Legion at Cleveland, Ohio, has launched a drive for 1,000 members.

¶ A military ceremony has been performed over the remains of Private Arthur Gossett, the only Negro soldier in the vicinity of Wichita, Kan., to make the supreme sacrifice.

¶ Buffalo Post 164 at San Francisco, Cal., American Legion, is making a fight for the life of Alfred Ellis, a Negro sentenced to hang in St. Quentin for killing a man who tried to break into his home. A Ladies' Auxiliary has been formed.

¶ Mr. A. R. Gillespie, a Negro in Chicago, Ill., has been made historian for the George L. Giles Post of the American Legion. He will compile records of ex-soldiers and of his post for historical use.

CRIME

AT Knoxville, Tenn., deputies guarding the county jail shot 27 white people when a mob attempted to take Frank Martin, a Negro, and lynch him. Martin is held as a suspect in an assault upon a woman.

¶ The following lynchings have taken place since our last record:

Lawrenceville, Va., August 3, unknown Negro; murder.

Datura, Tex., August 15, Alexander Winn, burned; attacking a girl.

Augusta, Ga., August 16, Walter Smalley, burned; murder.

Chapin, S. C., August 24, Will Allen; murder.

POLITICS

ACCORDING to Dr. Kirkland, white, of Savannah, Ga., Negro representation on the Republican State Central Committee has been reduced from 80% to 20%. The old committee numbered 100, of whom

80 were Negroes; the re-organized committee numbers 50, of whom 10 are Negroes. Henry Lincoln Johnson remains the colored National Committeeman for Georgia; Sol C. Johnson has been appointed as the only Negro member of the First District Committee.

¶ At Washington, Ky., during the 1920 election, out of 28,966 Negro eligibles, 25,242 registered and voted.

¶ Negro Republicans in Virginia are planning a Negro ticket, including the office of Governor. J. R. Pollard, who is chairman of the group, ran for the United States Senate last November and polled 7,000 votes.

EDUCATION

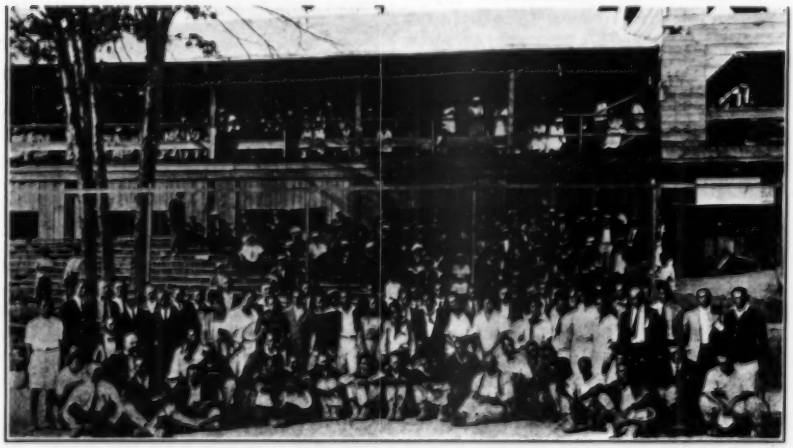
EIGHT graduate nurses of the Hale Infirmary Nurse Training School, Montgomery, Ala., were accredited contestants for the degree of Registered Nurse before the Alabama State Board. Their names are: D. Blythe Mason, Bazell B. Holland, M. Celeste Robinson, Berthe L. Walker, L. Dewey Mason, Gertrude M. Robinson, Avor M. Thompson and Verdia B. Davie.

¶ A school for the scientific study of life insurance has held a two weeks session at Birmingham, Ala. Dr. L. B. Moore, formerly Dean of Howard University, directed the courses. There were 14 college men enrolled, each of whom completed the course and has been employed by the Lincoln Reserve Life Insurance Company of Birmingham, under whose auspices the school was promoted. The minimum salary paid is $100 per month and commissions. The next session of the school will be held September 5.

¶ At Ohio State University, Mr. E. M. Gentry, principal of Eleventh Street School, Portsmouth, Ohio, has completed courses in Psychology and School Administration, leading to the degree of Master of Arts.

¶ The Education Board of the Methodist Episcopal Church has purchased Meridian College and Conservatory, at Meridian, Miss., for the education of Negroes. The institution is valued at $350,000; it has 11 buildings and a campus of 100 acres. Dr. J. B. F. Shaw, principal of Central Alabama Institute, at Birmingham, has been chosen principal of the new school, which will be known as the Haven Institute and Conservatory.

¶ Ten colored women were enrolled in this year's summer session of the Training school conducted by the National Board of the Young Women's Christian Association in New York City. Several of this group were housed in the National Training School dormitory. Lectures in race relationships were given by Miss Eva Bowles and Miss Crystal Byrd of the Y. W. C. A. and by the Rev. Mr. R. W. Bagnall of the N. A. A. C. P. A Negro student made the high-



AMERICAN TENNIS ASSOCIATION, WASHINGTON, D. C.

est record in the entire school in the physical examination.

¶ Dr. H. L. McCrorey, of Biddle University, has been elected president of the National Association of Teachers in Colored Schools. He succeeds Dr. L. J. Rowan.

¶ Roger Williams University graduated in June, 10 Bachelors of Arts and Science and 35 from other departments.

INDUSTRY

AT Flagstaff, Ariz., Mr. S. L. White, a Negro, operates a Ford truck express business; Charles Johnson, in the mortar business, has laid 1,180 feet of cement since last June; Thomas W. Garrison, a mechanic, has received a city permit for pipe and steam fitting.

¶ The Fitzgerald Hotel and Development Corporation has been formed by Negroes in Atlantic City, N. J. Plans have been made for the erection of a 7-story modern hotel at North Indiana and Atlantic avenues, for colored people.

¶ Of 63 colored banks in the United States, Virginia has 21; North Carolina is second with 12; Georgia is third with 7.

¶ At Miami, Fla., Dr. W. B. Sawyer, a Negro, has purchased property upon which a $40,000 hotel and store building will be erected.

¶ The Atlanta Mutual Life Insurance Company, of which Mr. A. F. Herndon is president-treasurer, has added a Social Service Department to its organization. Cyrus Campfield is the director. The company has assets of $201,347; insurance in force, $7,592,816; policyholders, 127,485.

¶ John T. Gibson, Negro owner of the Standard Theatre, Philadelphia, Pa., has bought the Dunbar Theatre, at a price approaching a half-million dollars. The former owners were the Dunbar Amusement Corporation, of which E. C. Brown is president.

NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE

THE Pittsburgh Urban League in an effort to equalize the colored infant death rate of 176 per 1,000 and the general infant mortality of the city, which is 99 per 1,000, has conducted a series of Baby Shows in connection with which lectures, demonstrations and publicity on the results of examinations of the babies have been given by 34 colored and white doctors, trained nurses and other experts. Eighty-eight prizes have been distributed among successful entries. A permanent health clinic in a district largely occupied by colored people is one of the results of the interest aroused.

¶ The Community Service Urban League of Kansas City has established a portable open air movie service for widely separated colored neighborhoods. Community singing and short talks on health, sanitation and personal, civic and community pride are given between reels. The audience sometimes reaches 500. This organization has also promoted a Ladies' Swimming Exhibition after a month's preparation. Seventy-five contestants demonstrated all varieties of strokes, dives and other stunts before an enthusiastic crowd of spectators.

¶ The Cambridge Urban League has been successful in placing 20 power machine operators, with a colored forewoman in charge, in an established manufacturing concern. A shorthand and typewriting class of 30 members has been organized.

¶ Eighty-eight placements of people between the ages of 16 and 18 years were made during June and July through the New York Urban League. Several hundred colored boys and girls from Harlem, together with hundreds of other children of New York, were entertained at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel by a special program for children arranged by the National Tuberculosis Association. This was followed by a similar program in the gymnasium of Public School 119, with over a thousand children present, where a health talk was made.

¶ The Armstrong Association of Philadelphia, affiliated with the National Urban League, at the beginning of the school year was aiding 3 students through scholarships —one, a junior in architecture at the University of Pennsylvania; another, in the first year Normal at the University of Pennsylvania; and a third, a freshman in engineering at the University of Pennsylvania.

¶ The Los Angeles Urban League has taken over the work of the Tuskegee Industrial Welfare Association, which began operation on March 1, 1921. In four months, 346 placements were made, representing $15,000 in monthly wages. Its first outing for women and children was held in August. Miss Katherine J. Barr is the secretary.

These items are culled from letters and clippings. Every effort is made to insure their accuracy, but mistakes sometimes occur. We are glad to correct essential errors.

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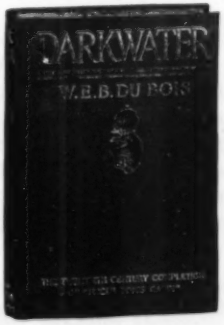

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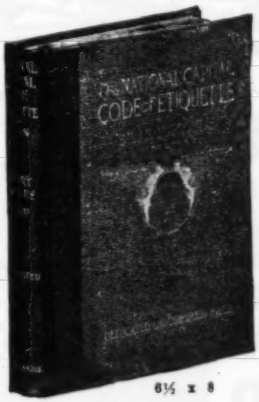

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